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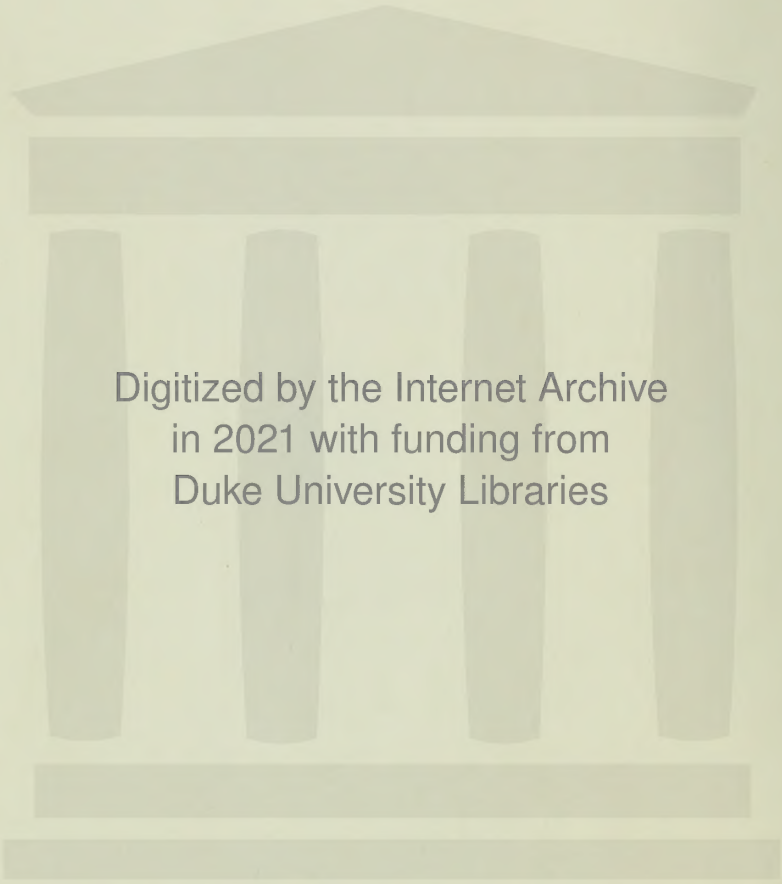
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VOLUME XVI NUMBER 3

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THE UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO STUDIES

CONTENTS

1. *Human Instincts and Social Life*.....LAWRENCE W. COLE
2. *The Motivation of Altruism*.....GLEN WAKEHAM
3. *The Tax System of Colorado*.....A. GAYLE WALDROP
4. *Literary Sources of Italian Opera*.....MIRIAM RIEDER

BOULDER, COLORADO, JUNE, 1928

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HUMAN INSTINCTS AND SOCIAL LIFE

By Lawrence W. Cole

When a theory, almost purely negative in character, is proposed to the effect that there are no human instincts, no consciousness or mind or subconsciousness for the psychologist to consider, but only behavior reflex or conditioned; when the behaviorist is in fact of the opinion that there are no opinions, his conception will provoke attention by its very audacity. In fact, he reminds us slightly of the school boy who offers to whip another with one hand tied behind his back. He offers to write psychology, or a substitute for it, under the handicap of ignoring what other writers felt it their plain duty to consider and describe.

Unfortunately, however, theories must exhibit, not necessarily audacity, but evidence of truth. To weigh that matter the reader may well begin by asking the behaviorist if his theory is entirely new. If so, it deserves more attention. It will be found, however, to be almost identical with the "conscious automaton theory" so ably debated in the 80's by Huxley, Clifford, James, and others and finally rejected on the ground that, instead of explaining, it ignored most of the facts of human experience.

Another somewhat common sense test may emerge from the question: Is the theory bounded by state lines? More than once in the recent history of psychology a theory has been well established in America by vigorous authority, only to find few or no adherents in France or England. Eventually such theory proved quite false and belief in it proved to be due to vigorous partisanship.

This seems to be the condition of the theory of behaviorism today. It has followers in America, due to the contagion of persuasion, but where this contagion is lacking it has seemed to awaken little interest. We may ask, therefore: Is human behavior as well described on the hypothesis that it is all due to "conditioning," as on the theory that there are internal, hereditary drives and urges, namely, instincts, which condition even the conditioning? The latter view seems to yield the more natural and truthful account of human behavior and experience. Moreover, by a subtle, introspective comparison, even the non-psychological reader recognizes whether a piece of descriptive writing is "true to nature," or whether it is a quite artificial invention made to fit a theory.

Because of this fact, I venture to hope that two classes of readers may be interested in the following account by a French writer of "Human Instincts and Social Life." One class will find interest in deciding whether it appears to be a true account of human social experience. Another class will wish, not only to make this decision, but also to compare the account with behavioristic writings on social psychology of recent date.

I am sure that every reader will find Duprat's chapter of great value unless it has lost all its worth in translation. Two competent but kindly critics assure me that this is not quite the case. The little book by Duprat, "Psychologie Sociale," seems to me rather the soundest discussion of social psychology that I have found. The second chapter, in which he describes instinctive social behavior, serves as foundation for the rest of the book. For that reason it has been selected for translation.

Human Instincts and Social Life*

Hereditary Impulses as the Basis of Psycho-Sociological Evolution.

The living being only continues and is forced to perpetuate a determinate existence which has been transmitted by an ancestral line. He depends for his anatomical structure and his physiological traits on a specific type completed by ancestral acquisitions in harmony with the fundamental structure. While individual variations occur they are brought back to the type structure in the next generation, much as gravity determines the swings of a pendulum. The individual is essentially only a specimen, whose biological purpose is the preservation of a type. The individual life is then only an event, contingent and of trivial import in a prodigious species of its germs. Yet, the plasticity of the nervous substance and its predominance over muscular tissues permit the animal to make new acquisitions. Thus it is capable of participating in the progressive evolution of the type. This is the reason that individuality has its relative importance in the species, where a faculty of intelligent adaptation is clearly manifest.

This aptitude for intelligent adaptation in the human species has caused us too often to reject from the plan hereditary preadapta-

* Translated and abridged from G.-L. Duprat, *Psychologie Sociale* (Octave Doin, Paris), by Lawrence W. Cole, University of Colorado, with kind permission of the publisher.

tion, without which man could not exist, in spite of his pretensions to a supernatural origin and a supernatural destiny. Now preadaptation, animal or human, interests social life in the highest degree for such preadaptation ends in hereditary impulses, in modes of activity almost alike in all individuals. They make real, at the very basis of collective existence, the union, the cohesion of homogeneous individuals. *Hereditary impulses are the essential thing in "instinct."*

At the base of social life and of individual life we find, therefore, a capital fact, namely, the existence of a *system of instinctive appetitions and repulsions*, alike for all beings of the same species or even of the same "race." What we sometimes call the social instinct seems rather to be the result of the fundamental similarity of instincts according to which all the individuals act in unison. *The gregarious instinct* is the result of the spontaneous cohesion of like animals which have the same needs and the same means of satisfying them. Social solidarity develops, even to becoming voluntary in certain cases, starting from the most simple existence in common. From the first moment, it involves the *sympathetic* emotions, whose individual and social role increases as the aggregates become more and more different. Gregarious life renders sociable the individual submitted from his very origin to the pressure which a mass of beings acting *in solidum* never fails to exercise on each of its elements. "Social constraint" is ready to manifest itself when there is not yet any individual existence clearly conscious of itself. An impulse to live in isolation or a repulsion against life in common, can be only a manifestation of individual foresight of certain inconveniences resulting from the rivalry of beings of the same species, as is shown in the case of insects isolating themselves in order to deposit their eggs. (Cf. Rabaud: L'instinct del' isolement chez les insectes; *An. Psyc.*, XIX.) It is not transmitted except by imitation.

The need of sympathetic emotions and of collective protection or social tutelage manifests itself with every normal being, though it may enter more or less clearly into conflict with misanthropy and a defiance of others. The latter two traits may be acquired and may become habitual characteristics of certain individuals.

The vivid pleasure that men of the same origin experience in meeting one another in hostile environments or in distant countries and the pleasure of persons deprived for a long time of social emotions,

shows how much the need of sympathetic affections and of mutual protection has become a trait of the species.

Trophic and Sexual Instincts

The trophic instincts are less precise with man than with most animals. The latter show all their life a very marked repulsion for certain foods and a particular desire for others. Nevertheless, the search for sweet and for sugar results generally in nursing the mother, to which corresponds with almost all the new-born instinctive movements of sucking. Men thus receive a common orientation which different kinds of food adopted by their elders, according to their *milieus* and resources, modify more or less and complete by creating particular tastes. But the universal need of food, to be satisfied periodically, obliges beings to unite for the search in common for food. Only the lack of nutritive resources can bring scissions and even the search for and saving of reserves by little groups or by isolated individuals. Domestic economy, which participates in a collective egoism, is born of this opposition of groups (formerly clans or tribes or hordes). The strongest work and economize for the weakest.

This devotion, limited to a group, reposes throughout, since the institution of families, on an instinct particularly driving, the sexual instinct and its normal consequence, the love of parents for children.

The desires which end in reproduction are among the blindest so far as the purpose of the acts and behavior which they determine are concerned. But social life, which opposes more or less the immediate realizations, the sudden impulsions, which obliges the unquiet being, tormented by a vague desire or dominated by a passion whose object is already precise, to submit himself to a number of conditions imposed by the folkways, customs, prejudices, and laws of a complex social order,—has had on the human sexual instinct such an influence that love has taken the most diverse forms, while becoming also one of the principal motives of life and one of the predominant preoccupations of organized groups, as well as one of the essential factors of civilization. Among the most remarkable phenomena of all the psycho-sociological domain is the reciprocal action of society on the individual and of the individual on

society in all that concerns the instinct of reproduction and the protection of the young. The mutual pursuit of each other by beings of the opposite sex does not go on without a sort of exaltation of each one. This brings the male to develop, as much as he can and often without knowing why, the means of seduction which reside in the manifestation of his strength, of his courage, of his need of conquest and of domination. This exaltation has been pointed to with reason as one of the causes of heroism, which tending to the highest vital expansion, goes beyond its object and leads often to death. Society furnishes to the males, thus borne on by pride or vanity or the love of parade, the means of obtaining exquisite value. Chivalrous tournaments have no other purpose. Worldly assemblies, balls, the most aristocratic as the most vulgar, fêtes, mounted contests and others, are in great part derived from the need of display in view of sexual ends.

On the other hand, the feminine nature is borne on by the sexual appetite to an apprehension more or less vague, in which we see the beginning of what, with civilization, has become modesty. There is much more of spontaneous, natural restraint, independent of every social and moral consideration, with the woman than with the man. The man is aggressive, while the woman holds herself always more or less on the defensive, even when she abandons herself to the most ardent passion. Modesty is quasi-universal, as Ribot recognizes, although he does not believe that it can be regarded as an instinct. It is connected with timidity, with a sort of shame at the desire experienced and which manifests itself although one seeks to hide it. It ought then to increase with social represssion of the feminine sexual appetite, a repression organized by education and custom. The exaggeration of social constraint in certain strata of society brings about with women and young girls a prudery which amounts to a misplaced inhibition. Ignorance and especially the absence of sexual emotion, have the same effect as experience and the disappearance of all apprehension. Immodesty can manifest itself in the same fashion as ignorance. But ordinarily and always because of collective pressure, feminine impudence hides itself and reveals itself only in little circles of initiates. Thus it ends in becoming a moral perversion.

The mental development of man has permitted him to make

elevated sentiments and particularly the esthetic sentiment play an important role in the search for means of satisfying his sexual desires. The appetite, which is non-selective or too feebly selective at first, has become a selective desire. Love almost presupposes choice, and choice is due to all sorts of reasons more or less obscure, among which the attraction of grace and beauty are forced to enter. Now, although the esthetic sentiments are individualized to such a point that one would find an objective criterion of beauty with difficulty, it must be recognized that each epoch and social *milieu* has its particular conception of beauty, of grace and of feminine seduction. The opinion of each is more or less prompt to inspire itself with the common opinion and to submit itself to the official control of a general appreciation.

With the vain, a choice which conforms to a sort of designation by public opinion is always the most probable. The woman chooses for other reasons. She is inspired less by esthetic considerations than by obscure emotions, among which the presence of compassion, of a quasi-charitable desire to procure the happiness of men or repair an injustice in their lot, sometimes by a sacrifice of herself. It is necessary to add, as a motive of the feminine choice, the desire to subordinate herself to a strong will, to be protected by a being courageous and powerful, or to participate in the advantages of high social position.

The economic conditions of existence have introduced venality and considerations of material interest as obstacles to the existence of a stable and profound amorous sentiment. They have brought a regression toward the satisfaction of the animal sexual appetite. Marriages without love have as their counterpart illegitimate or immoral unions or liasons. Social conveniences have often opposed the normal effects of the familial institution.

Hunger and love are two natural means, two necessary conditions of individual and collective life. They are as inseparable as the individual and society. And man, so proud of his intelligence and his introspection, is no more successful than animals in seeing toward what end these fundamental appetites take him. That is why, after all, we find them so often perverted by human civilization. The appetite for food has become with certain persons gormandizing, voracity, gluttony. Among others it has become daintiness

and a search for abnormal means of satisfying tastes which have been altered or depraved. Society has responded to the corresponding needs by industries and commerce, by modes of collective existence appropriate to the luxuries of the table, a thing which determines with individuals some desires and tastes, which divert appetite from its natural end.

The sexual appetite in taking erotic satisfaction for its exclusive end has turned easily into lewdness, into debauchery, into the search for sterile and enervating pleasures. Social life is organized according to this perversion. It has multiplied the occasions of erotic excitation (theaters, fetes, exhibitions, toilets, modes). It has partly regulated prostitution; has complaisantly let clandestine prostitution develop; has created cities of "pleasure," a pornographic literature, a lascivious art, a libidinous music, an industry of perfumes, etc. Almost all individuals have submitted to the influence of the group, thus falsely oriented, by giving to eroticism its part, more or less great, in the encounter with normal sexual life. Malthusianism and debauchery have shackled reproduction, done harm to natural selection and to the vitality of the human species. Paternal and natural love have often become enfeebled under the influence of overexcited, lustful passions. And social education has undergone the dangerous effects of a turning from the future represented by the children. These are evils of all epochs and they appear almost inevitable, precisely because human instincts grow feeble in the measure that intelligent personal adaptation is developed.

Preservation and Protection

The preservation of the species implies that of each element. The individual in danger is interested above all in his own defense, so his first movement is to seek protection and aid near his own kind (the gregarious instinct). It may happen to him not to find the hoped for succor and to have to use his own means of defense. So we see with all animals a specific preadaptation for *personal defense*, specific means to repulse an enemy, to frighten him, to seize him, to destroy him and to get hold of everything which is necessary to protection and nutrition. The instinct of self-preservation has its extension in hereditary tendencies which are related to habitat, clothing and cleanliness. Whenever the solidary social

elements can co-operate for individual and collective preservation, in any of the ways which have just been indicated, habits and, at need, social institutions are never in default. Thus struggle determines armament. War gives birth to armies and the warrior spirit gives to each individual, accustomed to struggle, a combative spirit, which can become by heredity a marked propensity to aggression upon others, to discussion, to polemics. The need for collective defense gives rise to the common habitat, isolated or fortified, which becomes the castle or fortress, and, on the other hand, the private habitation, little by little reserved for a number more and more restricted, the individuals of the same family. Collective defense against inclement weather ends in the same result. Common protection against contagious diseases, of relatively recent origin, is connected by very ancient mystical procedures with "the instinct of cleanliness," remarkable in certain animal species and acquired without doubt by natural selection of varieties more sensitive than others to the inconveniences resulting from contamination. From the preservation of the common health is born progressively in individuals the need of bodily hygiene.[1]

Hunting, fishing, and agriculture have begun by being collective occupations responding to the general need of food. Possession has been at first collective. Then it has become familial at the same time with the habitat or dwelling place. In this way, it is believed there has been established a specific tendency to personal appropriation and to the development of private property. The predatory appetites of certain animal species have, without doubt, been able to develop in certain human tribes, who were nomads by preference. They have given birth in certain groups and certain human individuals to tendencies to rapine, to conquest, to the possession of booty, to depredation.

Here the instinct has been frequently and in many ways perverted by individual adaptations, more or less in harmony with specific impulses. In general, animals of the same species do not make war upon one another. Men oppose with arms in hand the possession of goods by those who covet them and they enter into struggle against one another, not only race against race, nation against nation,

[1] It is said that typhus fever was stamped out by the instinct of cleanliness. It returned during the war only because cleanliness was impossible for the soldiers.—*Tr.*

group against group, but individual against individual. Attack involves defense. Violence calls for violence. Defeat demands vengeance or revenge. The consciousness of private property and the desire for personal appropriation go on increasing in the measure that the state of war perpetuates itself and as violence, rapine, depredation and the abuse of force become more numerous. This is emphasized more and more as the free individual possession of goods increases. It does not appear necessary to invoke *an instinct of property* in order to explain by it the generalization of the tendency to settle in a particular domain, to acquire property for one's self alone and to preserve for himself what he has acquired, nor to explain the desire to possess instruments and arms, clothing, and personal souvenirs of special origin. It is a matter, therefore, of a direct extension of the personality. The more action is individualized, each one having acquired special aptitudes, thanks to the division of labor, the more easily is it conceived that each one holds to preserving for himself the means of action or the means of adaptation which have an intimate character. But the increasing need to assure a free disposition of goods, more and more extended, and means of action more and more effective, results in a foresight which cannot fail to engender too numerous experiences of spoliation or usurpation. It has been judged convenient to admit a deep-seated egoism whose manifestations we find in all animals. Dominated by their appetites they enter into a struggle in order to assure themselves of individual satisfactions. But the competitions of animals which end in the rule of the strongest or of the most courageous, occur only so far as they are imposed by scarcity of resources or by sexual appetite. They do not know how to make of each of their competitors a beneficiary of the common activity turned to his profit, or the only beneficiary of his own activity, directed exclusively to the satisfaction of his particular desires. It is only under these conditions that we can speak of egoism. And, in defining the egoistic sentiment, we see that it is predominant only rarely with civilized men.

Communism and Egoism

Primitive communism, as shown by vestiges of paleolithic ages, reposed on the very absence of individualistic tendencies—born

finally of an inevitable social differentiation—or at all events on tendencies having no harmful effect on the clan. The Hottentots, Fuegians, Australians, and Esquimaux are still generally communists, or they are solidaries to so great an extent that we may call them not egoists but socialists, in a perfectly primitive sense of the term.

"The Primitives," says Kropotkin in the *Entraide*, "identify their lives so much with that of their tribe, that their every act, however significant it may be, is considered as an affair which concerns all. The idea of the clan is always present to their minds and the constraint of self and the sacrifice of self in the interest of the clan is met with daily. Within the tribe, the rule, each one for all is sovereign."

The savage has no merit beyond that of sacrificing himself spontaneously, of devoting himself to others, and of sharing with his companions everything which he has in his possession at the moment. He has not attained a sufficient degree of intellectual development to oppose himself to the collective mass. Psychologically, it is almost impossible for him to manifest egoism. And in the measure in which altruism is the opposite of egoism it does not yet exist, since it presupposes an *intentional* sacrifice for another. It is appropriate to speak only of spontaneous solidarity, of pure sociability, of a gregarious instinct more or less developed. Barbarism marks the passage of primitive communism over to the individualism of the civilized. But within the horde or tribe we do not yet see a true egoism appearing. What we know of the ancient Francs, of the mountaineers of the Caucasus, of the inhabitants of Kabul, shows us the step toward private property and the increasing care for individual interests, but with a strong propensity toward life in common, sanctioned generally by imperative rules and measures of repression, if necessary, so that there shall be no failure in the duty of giving mutual aid.

Nevertheless, the habit of pillage, of spoliation, of violence, of abduction, of theft by ruse or by armed bands to the detriment of foreign communities and even of neighbors, has been able only to develop in each individual a spirit of inequity or of personal cupidity in harmony with the collective tendency. *Thus egoism appears as an individual evil derived from a social evil.* It grows with civiliza-

tion and personal reflection, because the intelligence of each individual is more and more employed in the satisfaction of immediate needs, of individual desires rendered always more pressing and more varied by very diverse social relations and by the increasing role of personalities in the collective life.

This evolution suffices to show how far egoism is from being a fundamental tendency, an instinct of self-preservation taking for its end, in the encounter with other instincts, the individual exclusively to the detriment of the species. On the contrary, egoism is combatted in each of us by instinctive impulses or by their derivatives, which bring us back without ceasing and often without our knowledge, toward the subordination of individual ends to the interests of the species and the group. Although in the love of civilized people, one can see with reason the search for egoistic satisfaction, namely, the satisfaction due to the esteem of others, to exclusive predominance or to the importance of a personal role,—we cannot forget that this egoistic satisfaction strongly resembles that of the drone bee which, in the nuptial flight, sacrifices his own existence for the good of the species, in the joy of a brief triumph. The sexual instinct is stronger than the fear of death, to such a point that the amorous exaltation frequently drives the lovers, most smitten with each other, to their own annihilation. This is an abnegation which singularly contradicts the hypothesis of an egoistic instinct.

Vanity, in which the egoist seems to make display of himself complacently, requires all sorts of sacrifices to social exigencies and it is often only a means whereby the desirous community obtains a superior service from the individual at little expense. Without doubt this is the reason why such a feeling has not been restrained by the social environment but has often been encouraged, notably by honorable distinctions, titles, stripes, and decorations.

How many times is the individual, who is most careful of success and exclusively personal advantages, obliged by the very exigencies of an action with an egoistic motive, to devote himself to collective ends? Is not intelligent egoism a thing which reconciles public interests and private interests in an altruistic action? The complex ego-altruistic sentiments, which correspond to conciliation of progressive individualization and of indispensable socialization, are the motives in the adult civilized consciousness, which best accord

with these two antagonistic forces of human nature. These are hereditary impulsion and intelligent determination.

Sympathetic Emotions and Instinctive Imitation

Much more "instinctive" than the majority of affective states of civilized man of the present time are the emotions which have originated as means of defense or of preservation. The first is *rage*, which often precedes or replaces true courage. It makes the individual reckless of real dangers and does not permit the evocation of imaginary perils. It aims to destroy the obstacle and to frighten the adversary by the very preparation for acts of defense and offense.

Fear, which is the opposite of rage, makes us flee from dangers even vaguely imagined or hardly conceived. It varies from normal apprehension to the most morbid, paralzying terror, which may go so far as to produce catalepsy or hypnotic sleep.

Malaise due to *fatigue* may be mentioned next. It preserves the individual from excessive effort and from an ineffective expenditure of energy. It also stimulates the endeavor to attain a new rhythm or a better functioning of the organism.

Rage and fear are two emotions capable of rapid propagation in animal and human groups, because of the universal aptitude for affective imititation or *sympathy*. This affective imitation is a particular case of *instinctive imitation*. Such imitation can be produced only in the absence of all clearly constituted personal consciousness in groups dominated by the gregarious instinct. In such groups each element is little more than a replica of the neighboring element and where the psychology of each one can have nothing special either in its details or in its manifestations. The same gesture, the same movement, the same action, or the same behavior is repeated fatally. The herd goes forward or backward *in solidum*, with a uniform rhythm, each individual feeling and acting like his neighbor and each one being the collective consciousness repeated in a great number of exemplars rather than an individual consciousness.

In spite of social differentiation, imitation and sympathy have kept considerable power and the spontaneous and automatic repetition of the gestures, attitudes or affective states of another still imposes itself on the more civilized. Nevertheless, the more human

beings become different, the less are they induced to imitate one another or the further is imitation free from producing like results. Its role goes on decreasing with social heterogeneity, like that of all the manifestations of hereditary preadaptation. Intentional adaptation, which is at the basis of apprenticeship, under the most varied forms sometimes assumes more importance than spontaneous imitation and agrees better with individual independence and with the progress due to happy variations. Routine, which results from unintelligent repetition or is imposed by social constraint, is opposed to courageous innovations just as the conservative spirit, which participates in traditional imitation, opposes itself to the revolutionary spirit. It is sometimes difficult to reconcile these two influences.

The resulting conflicts which manifest this opposition most clearly are frequently sources of political and economic perturbation and give birth to hostile parties in such a way that individuals are often pulled in opposite directions by the need of living in conformity with the *milieu* and tradition and by the desire to act according to original conceptions. But independence and revolt, themselves, easily become an affair of imitation and one rarely sees originality which is not, in other respects, a conformity.

The term, imitation, is susceptible of a usage so extended that one may, with Tarde and Baldwin, see in almost all social facts a part which is the reproduction of earlier processes perceived in the activities of others. We may even refer social and individual progress to "interference between imitations" (Tarde). But what is more important here is the universal tendency to put one's self in unison with others practically and effectively, a tendency which can only be referred to the fundamental similarity of beings of the same species, to the fundamental identity of their natures, of their instincts, of their modes of activity, of emotivity, of appetition or of repulsion which are derived from it. It seems that common nature sees obscurely how to maintain and perpetuate itself in each individual by opposing as much as possible too great divergences and that the essential function of imitation is thus determined. Every other role depends on the utilization of the natural aptitude to repeat another to the profit of other ends indefinitely variable.

Sympathy, as the spontaneous imitation of the affective states of

another, adds to the psychomotor harmony, due to similarity, a harmony of feelings, which leads to the manifestation in common of tendencies suited to determine collective action. Uniformity of emotions, of desires, of means of adaptation and of the execution of common plans are amply able to make social life predominate over individual energies which are more or less dissident. Like imitation, sympathy decreases in the measure that social homogeneity gives place to a differentiation of temperaments, characters, and individual aptitudes. Pure sympathy exists only so far as the mental substitution of another for one's self meets no obstacle in too great a difference between the two beings and only so far as there does not exist an antagonistic motive, such as opposition of interests, rivalry able to arouse hate, envy, or jealousy. The more the emotion, which serves as the point of departure, appears foreign to personal interest, the more it puts directly at stake the general care to preserve existence, biological integrity, health, and the quiet possession of indispensable goods, the more can the sympathetic emotion be produced and engender the spontaneous accord for action or defense or protection become a common necessity.

Great currents of sympathy can appear in a crowd, an assembly, a community, a nation or several nations, who suddenly put a considerable moral and material force at the service of interests which have become general. Without the propagation of sympathetic feelings they would remain individuals. Thus have multitudes become impassioned for the reparation of an iniquity committed to the detriment of a single individual, because all have felt themselves to be threatened by the possibility of a similar fate. The individual effects of collective sympathy are of undeniable importance for the constitution of habits, sentiments, ways of acting. Far more powerful than simple imitation is the emotional harmony, which imposes itself on each individual of a social aggregate, and fashions him in such a way as to realize a common type which imitation and education perpetuate.

Social Competition and Co-operation

The frequency of sympathetic emotions in the origin of every human civilization can only render peculiarly painful the disapprobation of the group and cause collective approbation to be sought

for almost spontaneously. Some writers have admitted an instinctive need of approbation, which appears with excessive intensity in certain pathological cases, such as general paralysis and in a measure in the moral sentiment. There may be seen in it one of the origins of pride, of vanity, and of the self-satisfaction that is experienced when one believes himself assured of being the object of esteem, praise, or favorable appreciation on the part of others. Why, indeed, should every human being set his heart on having himself valued, on putting in relief his personality, his means of action, his biological, intellectual, or social advantages, if an impulsive need of arousing the approbation of the greatest possible number of individuals did not remain from the long subordination of every individual to collective tendencies and feelings? The desire for personal expansion, for power, for esteem, for recognized value, *ambition*, in short, is not related so much to an inconsequent egoism as to a need, of social origin, which makes the individual prize dignity, honor, reputation, and good renown, more than all material satisfaction. The result is that he often remains all his life the slave of public opinion and antipathy, disdain, and contempt torture him cruelly. The lover holds often to the esteem of the beloved woman more than to any other satisfaction and it has been remarked with reason that for most deceived husbands, the wound is especially *d'amour propre*. For pride thus to triumph over love is it not necessary that it have a deep root in human nature?

But pride and ambition involve envy, jealousy, emulation, rivalries, hate, anti-social impulses, and egoistic passions. Society, which has so much to suffer from the competiton in which individuals engage, cannot stop provoking, supporting, and embittering the tendencies which make men just so many rivals, so many wolves for other men. Communities accord their esteem to those who respond best to their desires, to community inclinations, to those who live and permit it to develop according to its deep instincts or the passing aspirations of the multitude. The crowd is flattered to see competitors contest for its favors. The regime of competition dates from the day when animals followed en masse the victor in single combat, deserting the weak with antipathy because of his relative powerlessness. To get the better of another, from a given point of view, has become by virtue of social organization the

object of passionate efforts with many people, generally doomed to failure or suffering by a perversion of the need of approbation or esteem born in the gregarious state. Unfortunately, competition thus instituted is very far from ending in a suitable selection. Those who triumph are not ordinarily the best suited to give to a community the expected satisfactions. Competition develops the spirit of trickery, of cheating, the tendency to appear other than one truly is and to resort to the most injurious weapons in order to eliminate the competitors, who are judged to be the most formidable. A large assembly of the most varied values would be preferable to an elimination, often baneful, to the very society which deprives itself of important contributions. But can social nature be other than individual pride and its own nature demand?

Despite the rivalries of individuals, families, groups, and nations, social co-operation remains the safeguard of the existence of the species and it is realized by all sorts of means, which show human intelligence to be as apt in means for completing the work of the blind instinct as in opposing it and in turning it from its primitive ends.

Language and Play

One of the most important factors of co-operation is the specific tendency to communicate impressions to others, to express affective states and desires in order to obtain aid and protection. It is this tendency which constitutes what is called the instinct of *language*. It has effects properly called human and differently important from those of vague inter-animal communication of emotions, which serve as signs of warning or appeal. Man has comprehended the importance of the sign to the point of making a mental substitute for the thing signified. Human intelligence has had, therefore, a preponderant role in the development of language. But a natural stimulus was necessary, and we believe we find it surely in the general need of giving to sympathetic emotions a continuation or a re-enforcement by gestures, accompanying and completing spontaneous mimicry, and by phonation born of the emotional state. Can we say that the infant actually notices the effect of his cries, which bring about the help of his mother or his nurse, and that he infers the possibility of serving himself at will by this means of

giving rise to the attentions of another, without being brought by the same logic to recognize that primitive man, as well as other animals, had made the same observation (or acted as if he had made it by a practical inference much less intellectual than we can conceive) and that the whole species, by spontaneous imitation, by sympathy, by natural use of the same means has been brought promptly to resort to language by gestures and by varied intonations, starting from cries emitted at first unintentionally? The organ of phonation, more or less modified by use, has, with all men by virtue of the same physiology, acquired and confirmed a social function, which is exercised by means of apprenticeship and thanks to a complex individual experience and which it is very difficult to acquire. This is the communication to another of states too intimate to be experienced by simple sympathy. Gregarious life has imposed on all men of the same group the same modes of phonation,—an individual language having no *raison d'etre.*

A powerful psycho-sociological bond, capable of uniting all those who have a life in common, by distinguishing them and separating them from all those who have not the same vocables, introduced at a happy moment into human groups some fecund germs of complete understanding of political and religious unity, and between them some germs of opposition and of increasing differentiation. The difference of language has been and remains, by reason of the difficulties it involves, a source of conflicts, of antipathies, of unjustified suspicions, of reciprocal incomprehension, or of insufficient harmony between nations as between individuals. A common language has become the condition of perfect co-operation in the realization of common labors.

There is a mode of collective activity which surpasses language. It is play. Many animals play. That is they expend, without any other utility than that of procuring pleasure for themselves, in common or in isolation, an energy available because of leisure. Amost all men experience from infancy the need to play. That is why we admit with Groos an instinct of play, which seems at least to approximate the need of sympathetic action, whenever it is not a matter of simple letting-go of the imagination, but a disinterested expenditure in common of individual energies put in harmony for the collective pleasure. The dance and the song seem to have been

the first human games, linked with the pleasure of biological activity, notably respiratory and muscular, according to an easy rhythm or one rendered easy by exercise. The pleasure that this mode of muscular and nervous expenditure produces, appears not to be simply that of an easy activity. It has an unconcious finality, since it stimulates to exercises often useful, preparatory to serious activity, to the chase, to struggle, to combat, when it is a matter of dancing or gymnastics,—to amorous seduction, when it is a matter of singing, or of some other game which permits the individual to make his address, his strength, his physical aptitudes, his grace, or his beauty appreciated.

With primitive peoples, play is not clearly distinguished from utilitarian activity, as imagination is not distinguished from objective perception. That is why it is convenient to prefer disinterested activity to the expenditure of energy, to collective effort, whatever be its end or purpose. The individual does not always know, in fact he is often ignorant so far as he remains under the domination of the gregarious solidarity, as to what is the end of his activity. He moves or acts in a determinate fashion by custom or example or by social constraint without giving himself a justification other than the feeling of necessity, the nature of which he does not seek. The sthenic emotions, aiding the tendencies to be satisfied and propitious for the expansion of the whole being, suffice to determine an expenditure of activity which has the advantage of supporting joy. One leaps, one laughs, one sings. The child takes to running, to gesticulating, to making grimaces and pirouettes, which are at once imitated by his comrades, more and more sympathetic. The excitement gradually gains and games are born. They endure. They complicate themselves, supporting by a pleasure forever renewed, the desire to expend one's self in common.

Now from play to art, there is, at the beginning of civilization, only a slight distance. It suffices that the pleasure of seeing and hearing, the nascent esthetic emotion, comes to add itself to disinterested activity. Later comes the agreement of the expression and of the evocation in common of thoughts, feelings, and collective aspirations and finally the opposition between the emotions aroused "by pure sport" and affections, agreeable or painful, relating to interests to be safeguarded, to existence to be defended or to success

in the battle of life. Play ending in art only augments the power of the social bond of sympathetic emotions, and it is not surprising that civilization has developed means of socializing individual energies so efficacious as public games, fetes, and spectacles, "the most noble pleasure of assembled men."

The Psychological Law of Variations of Instinct

The domain of instinct conceived as hereditary impulsion appears now sufficiently extended so that social life may be clearly connected by its very foundations to the natural foundations of affective life and of psychomotor activity, common to all individuals whatever their stage of civilization. Pure sociology ignores instincts because they are impulses felt only by the individual. It ignores by so much the bio-physical bases of gregarious existence. Pure psychology does not make us acquinted with the ways, often indirect, by which the instincts act on individual psychology after having had social effects. Disregard of this can bring with it only great errors of interpretation or innumerable obscurities. Social psychology, by showing the reciprocal action of individual psychology on social life and of the latter on personal determination, alone permits us to explain ways of thinking, feeling, and acting, in short, of behavior, both individual and collective, which ancestral or specific (i.e. of the species) preadaptations justify in the last analysis.

Every hereditary impulse, specific or ancestral, in becoming an "element" of a particular consciousness is distinguished fatally from the same impulse in another consciousness. The error of those biologists or psychologists, who see the bundles of characteristic instincts of a species as a fixed block of immutable elements, transmissible like the pieces of a machine and able to pass from one mechanism to another without undergoing transformation, is analogous to the error at the basis of the association psychology. It should be especially avoided in psycho-sociology. Every hereditary factor of individual determination becomes a crystallization of all the forms taken by the individual processes, in consequence of experience, of contingent adaptations, and of individual innovations. With most animals, individuality does not end in the constitution of personalities very different from one another. Particular innovations are few. The conditions of existence vary but little

from individual to individual. That is why hereditary impulses appear as uniform and relatively fixed.

One may pass at first from instinct to behavior of the species. The way of living and acting of a community is that of the individual and, reciprocally that of each specimen is entirely subordinated to the social mode.

In the human species, it is not the same. In the measure that cerebral plasticity and the varied exigencies of changing adaptations have differentiated types more distinctly, the specific or ancestral impulses have been called upon to submit more to the influence of personal variations. The latter, which exempt the human personality, more or less, from the fatalism so marked in the animal world, permit the community to modify itself by reason of spontaneous imitation and to establish, by right of social innovations, certain common variations imposed on all by natural constraint. They are transmitted at first by the normal way of social inheritance and finally integrated by the process of bio-psychic heredity. Thus we have the explanation of the facts described above, which have shown that human instincts have become the point of departure of numerous institutions or social functions and that the latter have reacted in turn on heredity to the point of sometimes turning the specific impulses from their primitive destination.

From the psycho-sociological point of view, the laws of instinctive activity, applied to the individual and society, should be subordinated to the following fundamental principle.

The Law of Individual and Social Variations

The specific instinct is modified under the influence of individual variations, which have become collective by socialization (imitation, tradition, social inheritance, and constraint). This modification goes on in the measure in which individuals become more suited to innovations in their interdependence (social solidarity more and more complex). The application of this law to different moments of animal and human evolution shows verifiable deductions:

(1) The antagonism of specific, blind, irresistible impulsiveness directed toward the ends of the individual or the species and of the development of personal consciousness in the midst of social solidarity. Civilized men are less and less strictly submitted to the

tyranny of their instincts. Reflection dissolves primitive instinct and sometimes substitutes aberrations for it.

(2) The progressive substitution in humanity of hereditary tendencies, more and more complex and varied, for animal instincts relatively simple. Hereditary tastes and distastes are substituted for well determined trophic appetites, under the influence of folkways and customs more and more widespread and consolidated in different human environments. For primitive means of protection against inclement weather, dangers and enemies of all sorts, there are substituted progressively hereditary tendencies to clothe themselves, warm themselves, shelter themselves under a roof, a tent, or in houses; to arm themselves, to employ strategem, and to maintain cleanliness, because of an increasing distaste for the various forms of uncleanness which are harmful to society. The instinct of reproduction, transformed by individual and social modifications, from the sex appetite and its consequences, from love under all its forms, has lost its sovereign sway. The celibate and asceticism show this even to the point of inspiring certain manifestations of mysticism.

The instinct of sociability which drives animals to live in herds, flocks or groups (but without passing beyond the ordinary forms of gregarious life except for the organized form of communism of ants and bees) has finally brought man to the organization of public life, not only to the economic point of view but to the juridical point of view. This has been brought about by his passing through the very important stage of the religious community, where the *social bond* has been felt so vividly as to appear sacred. Now, in consequence of the increasing power of society and the state, individual sociability has become complicated with preoccupations, such as the desire for esteem, the need for approbation, or the fear of public scorn. The latter has become hereditary as shown by certain forms of shame or modesty. The animal instinct for play, for the disinterested expenditure of energy, ending in useful exercises, has undergone also in the human species the most curious transformations through collective or individual variations, fetes, divertisements, etc. The hereditary need of appropriating as many personal means of action as possible, as well as means of enjoyment, subsistence, and protection, is affirmed with singular energy in

human civilization. It has exercised a very marked influence on the constitution of states, a condition which can only increase still more the primitive power of impulsion, amply differentiated. Animal curiosity, but little developed and often counterbalanced by misoneism, which is better suited to the conservatism of creatures already satisfactorily adapted by heredity, can but increase with the diversity of means of human adaptation. Consequently there arises a thirst for scientific knowledge and the rational impulse to organize objective representation under social control. Law is then confirmed by the observation of facts. Even general biology must be taken into consideration. As for psychology, it must modify the traditional conception of instinct not only by recognizing its relative variability but by considering its evolution as subordinated to variable social conditions.

THE MOTIVATION OF ALTRUISM

A Psychological Study of a Selected Example—One of the Smaller Protestant Denominations

By Glen Wakeham

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I. Introduction

The motives which actuate altruistic conduct do not seem to have been scientifically or statistically studied. Many obvious difficulties beset the attempt. The subject can be defined only in a general, indefinite way and there is no accepted rule of quantitative measurement. Altruistic individuals might condemn an examination of the psychological causation of their conduct as akin to the sin against the Holy Ghost. Gibbon always treated Christianity with marked respect and was at great pains to explain that his famous inquiry into the causes of the rise of Christianity involved only the *secondary* factors concerned in that stupendous phenomenon; nevertheless he was hotly attacked by the clergy of his age for sacrilege and atheism. A more tolerant generation will probably not resent what can be hardly more than a tentative, experimental examination of one composite yet unique and highly characteristic example of mass-altruism based upon a well-defined syndrome of religious motives.

The well-known philanthropist[1] whose financial support made possible the research here recorded is a firm believer in Christianity. He desires it to be expressly stated that his chief object is "to aid in the establishment, on earth, of the Kingdom of God so frequently

[1] The gentleman in question chooses to remain anonymous.

Editor's Note. This publication does not print articles involving political or religious controversy and propaganda but accepts contributions from Faculty members which record the result of original research. Readers of the present article are asked to keep in mind that this study is based upon much painstaking investigation, and attention is especially called to the *Introduction* to the paper in which the author's point of view is clearly set forth.

mentioned in New Testament scripture."[2] He recognizes, on the other hand, that there are some apparent discrepancies between the traditional dogmata of Christianity and the seemingly valid conclusions of modern thought. He was therefore willing to finance a study of altruistic conduct which should start without any dogmatic preconceptions and was not bound by any conditions whatsoever regarding the methods to be used or the conclusions reached.

While the logical untenability of many traditional religious dogmata is quite generally taken for granted in modern thought, it is also universally recognized that religion in general and Christianity in particular has played an important part in developing the more altruistic aspects of our civilization.

An analysis of religious phenomena which might succeed in disentangling from the masses of irrational tradition the factors which have made religion a blessing should be well worth while. This paper records a provisional feeling-out after suitable methods to accomplish such an analysis. It is humbly hoped that this admittedly crude investigation may start the entrance by pure science into a vast field which has hitherto been left largely in the hands of partisans, dogmatists, and extremists.

II. Choice of Subject

In casting about for a portion of the subject-matter which could be treated, even crudely, in a quantitative way, the statistics of denominational mission-work, both home and foreign, social and propagandist, were examined. Immediately the work of the Seventh Day Adventist organization stood out as being unique in a number of respects. Numerous objections might be raised against the choice of any denominational work. It might also be denied that money raised for evangelistic and mission efforts, numbers of converts made, and similar data constitute valid measurements of altruistic conduct. Yet a detailed study of the Adventist system showed it to be an undertaking of such remarkable material success and accompanied by features of such unique motivation that its choice as the immediate object of this investigation seemed fully justified.

The following statements are based upon (a) *The World Atlas of*

[2] See *Matt.* 3, 2; 4, 17; 10, 7; *Mark* 1, 14; 9, 1; 12, 34; *Luke* 4, 23; 7, 28; 8, 1; 11, 20; 17, 21; 22, 16; *Jno.* 3. 3,; etc.

Christian Missions (1925), (b) *The Sixty-fourth Annual Statistical Report* (1926) *of the Seventh Day Adventist General Conference*, (c) *The Signs of the Times* (Vol. 54, No. 19), (d) the report of the United Stewardship Council, quoted by the Rev. Charles Stelzle in *The World's Work*, issue of April, 1928, and (e) numerous interviews with leading Adventists and considerable study, at first hand, of Adventist institutions and Adventist practice in many parts of the world.

(1). The Adventists raise three times as much money, per capita of membership, as any other important denomination the statistics of which are available.

(2). They support more full-time evangelical and institutional workers per capita of membership than any other important denomination the statistics of which are available.

(3). They support a more extensive and far-flung missionary organization than any other denomination within several times their size in membership. This enormous effort is almost entirely sustained by the contributions of poor people. There are very few wealthy Adventists. Diligent inquiry failed to discover a single Adventist millionaire, yet the Adventists contribute for missions three times as much per capita as their wealthiest competitor, and ten times as much as the Protestant average in America.

(4). Their educational system, self-supporting and almost entirely unendowed, extends from the primary grades to a chain of efficient colleges (including a "Grade A" medical school) and provides for the education of nearly all Adventist children at an average expense, per capita, of less than half the average rate for other denominational and public schools.

(5). Their mission effort is accompanied by industrial, educational, and medical work to a greater extent than is attempted by most other organizations. Some of it is partly, or wholly self-supporting, industrially.

(6). A unique feature of the Adventist system is the intimate combination of a "health-reform" crusade with their denominational propaganda. The Adventists make health-culture an integral part of their doctrinal system. They operate a chain of sanitariums (the word 'sanitarium' was first used by Adventists) of unique characteristics which are favorably known throughout the world.

(7). Adventist standards of personal conduct are very strict. Two classes of prohibitions are recognized: those which constitute a "test of fellowship" and those which do not. Adventists may not drink, smoke, dance, play cards, nor eat "unclean" meats (pork, etc.) The unpopular, inconvenient seventh-day Sabbath must be strictly observed. Baptism by immersion is obligatory. In the quarterly celebration of the Ordinances feet-washing precedes the administration of the Sacraments. Adventist girls in school may not wear jewelry, evening-dress, nor knee-short skirts. Only in the matter of divorce, perhaps, are Adventists less strict than Roman Catholics. All recognized vices are, of course, entirely prohibited. The following practices are frowned upon, although not absolutely forbidden: the use of tea, coffee, and flesh-meats; attending theaters, movies, etc.; sending children to public schools when Adventist church-schools are available. This strict code of personal conduct is carried out with a rigidity which is surprising in this age of general license. The use of even the "mildest" profane language is almost unknown among Adventists.

(8). The financial strength of the Adventist organization, like that of the Mormons, is due to the fact that the practice of tithe-paying is placed upon a doctrinal basis. The "tithe" (one tenth of all "increase," or income) "belongs to the Lord" and must be paid, not as a voluntary offering, but as a solemn duty. Payment of tithe is not made a test of fellowship, but failure to do so is denounced as "robbing God." Denominational employes are required to pay tithe in order to retain their positions. The tithe actually paid by the one hundred thousand Adventists in America amounts to nearly five million dollars annually. This fund is not used for local church-expenses but goes *in toto* to the "Conference" office, where 10% of it is subtracted and sent on to the "Union Conference" office, which, in turn, sends on its 10% to the "Divisional" or general headquarters of the denomination. In some cases the "Conference" supports a minister in a local church, but aside from this all church-building and upkeep expense must be provided for by donations outside of the tithe. In addition to the tithe and the local expenses there are numerous other "voluntary" offerings, "campaigns," "special" offerings, etc., so that it is safe to estimate that Adventists pay, on the average, very nearly the equivalent of a "second tithe." In addition to this, Adventists also bear the heavy expense of educating their children in their own schools. As far as available statistics show, there is no other denomination which raises such extensive funds from so poor a constituency and gives them up almost entirely to a centralized authority for general evangelism and propaganda. The local churches get little for the heavy taxes they pay save inspiring reports and some employment for their sons and daughters. Probably not ten per cent of the total funds raised are used locally. To the suggestion that Adventism appeals chiefly to individuals of liberal disposition it should be replied that only one of the many adult converts interviewed had been a tithe-payer before accepting Adventism, and not a single one out of twenty-three apostates claimed to have continued giving on anything like the Adventist scale.

Following the "inspired" instructions of Mrs. Ellen G. White (see page 202) the Adventist authorities strongly condemn all kinds of life insurance, holding that Christians should trust God for their own health and safety and for the support of their dependents in emergencies. Everything that can be saved should be devoted to the "finishing of the work in 'this generation,'" after which all worldly goods will be worthless. "Lay up your treasures in Heaven."

(9). The altruistic spirit of Adventism is strikingly illustrated by the denominational wage-scale. Fifty-three dollars a week is the maximum wage for highly skilled surgeons in their largest sanitariums. College presidents, deans, professors of high formal qualifications, and able business-managers receive about forty dollars a week, on the average; "Conference presidents" and ordained ministers between thirty and forty. Absolutely no outside work, extra fees, or perquisites of any kind are permitted. Any Adventist employee found doing outside work "on his own" is instantly dismissed. No member of the organization, not excluding the highest administrative officers, is paid more than $2500 per annum. On the other hand, the lowest-paid workers receive fair wages. An outstanding feature of the scale is the relatively slight difference between the highest and lowest paid employes. The "President of the General Conference" receives less than twice the wage of the young college-graduate just beginning his ministry, or the janitor of a sanitarium. This is doubtless a strong factor in encouraging the poorest members of the Adventist constituency to be "faithful" with their tithes and offerings. The wages of the more important Adventist employes certainly represent, on the average, less than half the market-value of the ser-

vices rendered. In giving an important appointment a favorite Adventist ultimatum is: "You are not worth anything to this denomination unless you are worth twice as much anywhere else." Whatever one may think of the fairness or justice of this policy, it certainly constitutes an effective test of sincerity, and weeds out of the higher ranks of the Adventist hierarchy most of those who are not filled with zeal for the progress of the movement.

The factors enumerated above do not, of course, include all the elements of altruism, but they certainly represent a high and highly characteristic type of altruistic conduct. However their motives and the ethical or cultural effectiveness of their work may be judged, the Adventists certainly excel in certain forms of attempted service to humanity; and the circumstances of their activities as well as these activities themselves differ so sharply from other forms of mass altruism that the causation of the phenomenon seems relatively accessible to differentiation and analysis. Hence the choice of Adventism for this study.

The work which follows can hardly be understood without a brief statement of the history of the Adventist movement and an outline of its outstanding, characteristic doctrines. The facts of this statement are selected from *Rise and Progress* (Loughborough) and *The Origin and Progress of Seventh-Day Adventism* (M. E. Olsen). Dr. Olsen's recent work (1926) is now the official Adventist denominational history. (See Bibliography, page 231.)

Seventh-Day Adventism grew out of the well-known Second-Advent movement which culminated in the great disappointments of 1843 and 1844, when thousands of pious Americans confidently expected the coming of Christ in the clouds of heaven. A prophetic phrase in the Book of Daniel—"The cleansing of the sanctuary"[3]—was the basis of the prophetic calculations. To one of the disappointed Adventists came the thought, "the cleansing of the sanctuary is in Heaven!" This flash of inspiration, relegating the main event of the prophetic argument to Heaven and extending the time of probation for another more or less indefinite "generation" made possible the Seventh-Day Adventism of today. The denomination which grew out of this revelation learned forever one lesson from the disappointment. It never again set a definite date for the Second Advent. "No man knoweth the day nor the hour."[4] Any

[3] *Daniel* 8, 14.
[4] *Matt.* 24, 36.

group of Adventists which, on the basis of "new light," attempts "time-setting" is instantly repudiated by the main body.

The Seventh Day Sabbath was introduced by the Seventh-Day Baptists and accepted by Adventists chiefly through the influence of Captain Joseph Bates, a notable pioneer.[5] This doctrine, based upon the "binding claims of the law of God," gave the Adventist system a legalistic aspect which has brought it into violent conflict with "free-from-the-law" and other similar forms of evangelism. Adventism does not teach "justification by works," but hoids that the "just" will "show their faith by their works." This doctrine is the basis of the severe Adventist code of ethical conduct. Adventists hold that the seventh-day Sabbath is not merely Mosaic, but Adamic, or even pre-Adamic. It is vitally interwoven with the whole system of doctrines, and brings Adventism into the sharpest conflict with every possible modification of evolutionary theory. The six days of creation were six literal, twenty-four-hour days, exactly like those of the present age. If this idea is abandoned, Adventism falls to pieces.

During the fifteen years which followed the "great disappointment" of 1844 a complete, consistent, and highly complicated system of doctrines, based upon literal interpretations of the Bible, gradually crystallized about the personalities of Elder James White and his wife, the prophetess, Mrs. Ellen G. White, whose inspired, public "visions" supplied the supernatural element needed to start a new religious movement. The majority of Adventists still hold that Mrs. White's voluminous writings, which include a number of well-written books, as well as her "visions," were divinely inspired, and carry an authority second only to that of the Bible itself.

In addition to the outstanding doctrines of evangelical Christianity, Seventh-Day Adventists hold a number of very definite specific beliefs, some of which are being abandoned elsewhere:

(1). That the Bible is the only authentic divine revelation, the only "Word of God." "The whole Bible and nothing but the Bible" is a slogan constantly reiterated by Adventists. The findings of "higher critics" and the disruptive theories of modern science are categorically denied and condemned as dangerous deceptions.

(2). That the biblical prophecies are capable of explicit, accurate interpretation which shows that the end of the world is "near, even at the door." The end of the world coincides with the Second Advent, the salvation of the righteous and the death of the wicked.

[5] *Origin and Progress*, page 185 et seq.

(3). That the Adventist movement rose by divine providence in specific fulfilment of prophecy and is the special "work of God" on earth today, its object being to prepare, not the world as a whole, but a "hundred and forty-four thousand" for Christ's second coming. This number, formerly taken literally, is now admitted to be probably figurative, as there are at present approximately twice that number of Adventists in the world. The stricter Adventists sometimes hold, however, that the "sifting-time" will weed out so many doubtful or unfaithful Adventists that the total number saved will be exactly one hundred and forty-four thousand.

(4). That before the end of the world, which will certainly take place in "this generation" (a generation which began eighty or ninety years ago) all mankind will be clearly divided into two classes—the Adventists and the others. Every individual will have the opportunity of deciding between Adventism and non-Adventism, and then the "end" will come. The Adventists will be saved: those who finally rejected it will be lost. Every other faith has more or less of "deception" in it.

(5). That the great, final test between saints and sinners will be the Sabbath (Saturday). The seventh-day Sabbath is literally binding upon all mankind as the visible "seal of God," while Sunday, the "mark of the Beast," is a devilish invention, grafted upon Christianity from paganism, to deceive and ruin the vast majority of the human race.

(6). That it is the high destiny of Adventism to "warn the whole world in this generation," preaching the "three-fold Message" of Revelation 14. In harmony with this mission Adventism does not plan to work any portion of the "world-field" intensively but to have at least a few representatives in every country. It follows that Adventists, like the Roman Catholics, reject every proposal to divide mission territory among denominations. This is a necessary corollary of their fundamental beliefs.

(7). Adventists believe that it is a sacred, religious duty to keep the body—"the temple of the Holy Ghost"—in as sound a physical condition as possible, and that the laws of Moses constitute an inspired, scientific code of sanitation. Hence their extensive health-propaganda, which is called the "entering-wedge" and the "right arm of the Message." The Adventist institutions have been pioneers in the introduction of many therapeutic innovations which are now universally recognized as rational. There is nothing sacramental about the Adventist dietetic code. It is believed to be a divinely inspired, yet entirely rational mode of adherence to the laws of health.

(8). That immortality is not an inherent property of the soul but the "gift of God," reserved for the righteous. The dead are unconscious. There will be two resurrections, one for the righteous, at the second Advent, and the second, a thousand years later, for the wicked, who will be raised for punishment and final destruction by fire.

(9). That the Jewish tabernacle was a symbol and copy of a real "heavenly sanctuary" where the detailed records of the guardian angels of all mankind have been kept, and where the ministry of Christ, in a very literal way, is still going on. The "Cleansing of the Sanctuary" which, according to prophecy, actually began in 1844, is an examination of the records of those who have any chance of being saved. Judgment will be passed on these so that those accorded salvation will be able to participate in the "First resurrection" at the second Advent. The wicked-dead will be judged by the righteous living, in heaven, during the thousand years immediately following the second Advent. This is the Adventist millennium. At the second coming of Christ, "in power and great glory," all non-Adventists will be killed "by the brightness of His coming." The Adventists will be taken to Heaven

and the earth will remain desolate for a thousand years, uninhabited save by the Devil and his angels, who, during this period, will be able to meditate upon the ruin they have wrought. At the end of the thousand years, when the judgment of the wicked is complete, Christ and the righteous will return to the earth, the wicked will be resurrected for punishment and destruction by fire, the Devil and his angels will also be destroyed, ultimately and finally, and the righteous will build a "New Earth" upon this fire-cleansed and purified globe.

It seemed necessary to give this list of characteristic doctrines, which is far from complete, to illustrate the general nature of Adventist theology with its minute rigidity of detail, its literal interpretation of many scriptural passages usually passed over as unintelligible or figurative, and its complete "other-worldliness." Some slight play in the interpretation of prophetic detail is permitted to Adventist theologians, but on the whole the system stands or falls according to the correctness of any one of a large number of absolutely specific doctrines, in which Adventism differs from traditional, orthodox Christianity.

Adventists believe that there is irrefutable biblical proof for every one of their doctrines, and equally irrefutable disproof for every doctrine which disagrees with their own. They cannot admit the possibility of being mistaken on any important point. It is, therefore, to them vital that every individual on the face of the globe shall have due opportunity to study their positions and decide for himself, thereby settling his own eternal destiny. Their propaganda is as earnest, urgent, insistent, and spectacular as they can make it, and is pushed along every practicable line. Their technique is admirable, and their success remarkable, considering their severe requirements. Their book-agents cover the world with ably edited, attractively printed literature in over two hundred languages. Their Bible-workers enter every home. A more subtle propaganda is carried on in their sanitariums which has won several notable converts to Adventism.

Adventism is probably the most highly-organized denominational system in the world. The heavy contributions levied on all members, together with the low salary-scale, make it possible to keep nearly one-tenth of the total membership in some form of direct, paid employment. The "General Conference" reaches out through a complete hierarchy of "Division," "Union Conference," and "Conference" officers, and exercises an almost absolute control over

the whole activities of the denomination. Every phase of the work—evangelical, medical, educational, social, Sabbath-school, and young people's work—is guided by numerous traveling secretaries who go all over the world, inspiring and unifying the local and individual efforts and keeping everything "in line." All institutions are under the direct control of the organization, including colleges, printing houses, sanitariums, etc. Even local church-buildings are owned by central corporations established for that purpose. As a fighting unit the Adventist body seems to be at least as thoroughly and minutely organized as was the Prussian army before the War.

There is much astuteness in the higher control of Seventh-Day Adventism. Many of the general secretaries have not only been around the world repeatedly but have records of penetrating difficult regions which any globe-trotter might envy. An Adventist General Conference probably brings together a larger number of hardened world-travelers than a meeting of the National Geographic Society. Successful evangelists and administrators are constantly being moved half way across the world. At the close of the War several able German Adventists were brought to America and permanently placed here. Little opportunity is given for any leader to develop a strong, local, personal following. The majority of the Adventist membership is now outside of America, but this policy of traveling secretaries and constant shifting of men tends to promote a high degree of unity, which is further reinforced by the preponderant financial strength of the American membership.

The Adventist body contains a reasonable proportion of educated persons, including several hundred regularly qualified physicians, university graduates, and a few well-known men and women. Mr. Heber Votau, inspector of federal prisons during the Harding administration, and his wife, President Harding's sister, are both Adventists, having served for many years as Adventist missionaries in Rangoon. Mrs. S. M. I. Henry, a Women's Christian Temperance Union evangelist of national reputation, was converted to Adventism at an Adventist sanitarium. Professor McCready Price is widely known in Fundamentalist circles as a competent geologist who utterly rejects evolutionary theory and proves the truth of the biblical story of the flood by the record of the rocks. Intelligent, well-informed Adventists find no difficulty in squaring the most

up-to-date scientific facts with their theology, although they reject, out of hand, any theory which is incompatible with their fundamental beliefs.

It would appear that the type of temperament to which Adventism appeals is widely, although not uniformly, distributed. It is remarkable how the Adventist technique of propaganda has succeeded under widely varying conditions, and how closely Adventists from different, far distant parts of the world, resemble each other. In the United States, Australia, and South Africa approximately one-tenth of one per cent of the population is Adventist. Canada, Germany, Scandinavia, and Rumania have been nearly as receptive of Adventist propaganda as America,—Great Britain, somewhat surprisingly, very much less so. There are fewer than five thousand Adventists in the British Isles. The Latin countries, perhaps by virtue of their severely practical, materialistic psychosis, have proved very refractory towards Adventist work, although it has been constantly and insistently carried on. China, Korea, South and East Africa, the Philippines, and the South American Indian populations have proved fertile soil for Adventism, and there is a strong Adventist body in Russia. The very universality of their work with regard to territory is to Adventists one of the most convincing proofs of its divine origin.

Adventism clashes sharply with evolution, with "paganized" Roman Catholicism—the "beast"—and with decadent, Sunday-keeping Protestantism—the "Image to the Beast." It believes in freedom of conscience; hence its opposition to Sunday-laws. It would oppose just as strongly laws to enforce Sabbath (Saturday) keeping. Adventists believe that, in spite of their strenuous efforts to the contrary, Sunday-laws will ultimately become universal and that the persecution of Adventists on this account will rival the manias of the middle-ages. Some Adventists have already been martyred for their faith. The Second Advent, Adventists believe, will rescue them in the nick of time from an intense, world-wide persecution.

Many questions suggest themselves to the careful observer of this system, so full of sound, common sense and profound astuteness in its management, so fruitful of progress and material good works, yet so curious and seemingly irrational in some of its beliefs. What

accounts for the success of a creed made up of doctrines, some of them archaic, others differing radically from all authoritative theological interpretation? What moves its members to submit to heavy sacrifice of income and social standing, to inconvenient rites, and the giving up of most things which usually pass for pleasure and satisfaction? Why are their professional men willing to work for half wages? What leads their young people to forego common pleasures and opportunities for a severe, trying, ill-paid career? What explains the fact that this international denomination was able to carry on its ever-expanding mission program throughout the World War and during the post-war depression without serious pause while all other mission enterprises passed through drastic crises? And why does its membership increase, year after year, in spite of almost infinite obstacles, when many other evangelical denominations are losing ground?

The Adventist answer is obvious: it is because their message is "true" while everything else is more or less false. It is because the definite, miraculous power of God is in their work. The world is bound for perdition—its culture, its science, its whole civilization shot through and through with Satanic deception. It will all perish in the very near future: only Adventism will survive and triumph.

The observer can record the success of the movement, but it is not at all obvious to what extent this success is due to each of the many factors which go to make up Adventism. The scientist, of course, does not attempt to deal with the supernatural claim. But if it should prove possible to differentiate the practical from the mystical—the "method from the madness"—the effort would be well worth while.

III. Method of Inquiry

An attempt was made to use a judicious combination of introspective and behavioristic methods. For a number of reasons the investigation can hardly be regarded as conclusive in every way, but as preliminary. Much of the evidence obtained was confidential, and cannot be stated in detail. Nor can all the details collected be given in this report. Only a limited part of the evidence can be considered directly cogent to the problem studied. A certain element of personal judgment has necessarily entered into the conclusions

reached, and it may not always be easy for the reader to see the connection between the evidence and the conclusion. But an effort has been made to present sufficient material to justify the main results stated. It is hoped that the experience gained in this effort will make it possible to carry out further investigations with more concentration and less waste of machinery and on a sounder basis of scientific control.

The investigation was begun by interviewing a number of Adventist members (112 lay-members, 54 ministers, and 17 institutional workers) and 23 college-graduates who had been raised as Adventists but had left the denomination. Some of the questions asked were for information, both statistical and introspective, and some for the indirect behavioristic reaction they would produce.

It was not anticipated that much useful information would be obtained from typical Adventists who were following what had been conceived to be a normal Adventist career, who fully believed every item of Adventist doctrine, were fully in sympathy with all Adventist methods and ideals, had always been faithful in all the duties and practices enjoined by Adventism, and had never suffered a ruffling of their experience by any untoward accident. The attempted introspections of such characters usually consist of stock verbalisms, and their behavioristic reactions are likely to be stereotyped.

A rather surprising result of this inquiry was that there seem to be few typical, normal Adventists. In every case where anything like a full, confidential account of experience could be obtained there had been some "rift in the lute," some grievance, some misunderstanding, some disappointment, some personal reservation over this or that particular point of Adventism, or some unfortunate accident which had proved a "great trial." In other words Adventists, like other people, are all human. Returned missionaries had been dropped for reasons they did not understand. Personal preferences or trivial indiscretions had thrown ministers out of denominational employment. Local church-members had been thwarted in their just ambitions for church-office. Parents were grieved because their children, educated in Adventist schools, had failed to obtain denominational employment and had therefore "drifted out of the Truth."

The important point is that Adventism is probably no more free from personal difficulties, local scandals, administrative cabals, etc.,

than other organizations. Its unique success is not due to any marked, average, individual superiority in the characters of its members. The solid, imposing front presented by Adventism to the world at large must be accounted for in some other way.

Pressed for an explanation of their loyalty in the face of discouragements nearly every Adventist interviewed gave as his motive a firm, unalterable belief in the fundamental truth of Adventism. "The Truth would triumph," they maintained, in spite of the weakness, intrigue, or even definite wickedness on the part of Adventist members and leaders. Not even those who were nursing bitter personal grievances would admit for a moment the thought that Adventism itself might be mistaken. Their only hope of salvation was a desperate clinging to the system. "When the Truth really takes hold of a person," was a not uncommon remark, "no human contact can shake him out of it."

Not more than three of the nearly two hundred personally interviewed would for a moment entertain the suggestion that their personal friendships in Adventism, their positions in Adventist institutions, or their merely external connections with the system had anything to do with their faithfulness to it. A few expressed admiration for certain leaders, but on the whole the emphasis is laid upon the personal relationship of the believer with God, and it is tacitly assumed that anyone who is in close personal touch with God will necessarily believe in Adventism, provided, of course, he has had the opportunity of knowing "the Truth." Adventists are taught to believe the "Truth" and not pin their faith to any leader, however attractive. The remarkable loyalty of many Adventists, despite bitter disappointments, is a high tribute to the psychic efficiency of this method.

Adventist statistics confess to a considerable drift of membership through their ranks. The loss by defection seems to average about one-third of the gross gain. This is due in part, of course, to the very intensity of their propaganda which, with its spectacular attacks upon Protestantism and Catholicism alike, attracts many critically-minded malcontents who take up Adventism chiefly because it seems to be against everything else, remain in its ranks as trouble-makers for a little time, and then pass on to some other sect. It is rare, however, that an Adventist who has become "thoroughly grounded" by

years of contact with and activity within the system gives it up, whatever the provocation.

While it is difficult to picture the typical Adventist lay-member, the task is relatively easy with the minister. Professional priesthood usually gives its possessor an outward vocational armor which it is hard to pierce. The Adventist ministers interviewed replied, for the most part, true to an almost invariable form. Not one would confess to even the slightest taint of "Modernism." "Higher criticism" was uniformly condemned as "Devilish deception." Some differentiation could be made with regard to effective methods of work: a check-up of reports and careers seemed to show that the successful Adventist minister is the one who sticks close to the characteristic doctrines of Adventism, even if his work is pastoral and his flock is already very familiar with Adventist theology. Ministers who had allowed their minds and their sermons to wander away to social, political, or general moralistic subjects showed records of frequent transfer and indifferent success. Ministers who specialized upon revivalist methods and the intense presentation of fundamental, primitive Christianity showed a tendency to drift out of Adventism and join other movements. Emotional evangelism has only a limited place in Adventism. The common Christian doctrines of repentance, conversion, justification, salvation, etc., must be intimately interwoven by the Adventist preacher with the Seventh-Day Sabbath, the Second Advent, the prophecies, the "sanctuary question," etc. This is no artificial union but is necessitated by the Adventist view of theology as a whole.

Among some Adventist thinkers there has been recently a curious, perhaps subconscious, search for something like an orthodox justification for the movement in the construction of a kind of historical doctrinal succession covering the whole Christian era. Perhaps it is an unconscious substitute for the Roman and Anglican apostolic successions. Adventist historians have searched out the existence of obscure sects which have held this or that characteristic Adventist doctrine at some period of the middle ages. Adventists hold that these sects have been the true church of God throughout the era, from the time that primitive Christianity apostatized. Considerable research and erudition has been expended on this task, which goes to show that Adventism is not by any means a new thing, but simply the continuation of an age-long development of truth.

As a further method of investigation a series of questionnaires was prepared, addressed to ministers, church-elders, foreign missionaries, and lay-members. It was hoped that from these also both introspective and behavioristic data would be obtained, as well as statistical evidence.

The Seventh-Day Adventist General Conference Committee was approached regarding the best method of distributing these questionnaries and obtaining the desired replies. It should be stated that this committee co-operated fully and most cordially with the enterprise, although no definite statement was given regarding the use which would be made of the information obtained. The lists of questions were submitted to the committee, together with a perfectly frank statement of the purpose of the investigation. No alterations of the questions were suggested by any member of the committee. "Let them have any information they want," was the dictum of President W. A. Spicer, chief administrative officer of the denomination. It was obvious from the outset of the negotiations that the Adventists had nothing to conceal, nor were in the least concerned over any type of publicity which might result from the inquiry. When the investigator explained that the success of Adventism had attracted some attention and the idea of the research was that it might be possible to differentiate Adventist technique from Adventist doctrine the only reaction was a tolerant smile from some of the committee-members. They knew, of course, the futility of such an inquiry, but were glad to be friendly towards honest study from any viewpoint and quite confident that no scrutiny nor dissection of any nature would discover anything to their disadvantage.

The questionnaires were sent out from the Adventist headquarters. Administrative officers throughout the organization were asked to see that the questionnaires were properly distributed. The great majority sent out were promptly returned, and gave every evidence of having been honestly and seriously filled out. They represent, of course, only a cross-section of Adventist opinion and statistical information, yet they were distributed throughout America and the statistical inferences drawn from them should be reasonably valid. Every recognition should be given to the wholehearted co-operation of the denominational officials everywhere, without which the work would have been much more difficult and the results much less reliable.

In the offices of the General Conference every kind of statistical data was open to the investigator, including confidential reports on the financial condition of every institution connected with the denomination. It may be stated that the organization is very strong, financially. Its business is managed by competent men, its surplus funds are conservatively invested, its whole financial policy thoroughly sound. An expert statistician is in charge of all reports and membership statistics, coming from thousands of churches and companies throughout the world, and these statistics are audited, cross-audited, and trial-balanced with the meticulous accuracy that characterizes bank-accountancy.

For a number of reasons no doubt can be thrown upon the official statistics of Adventism. The personal sacrifices required of all members serve to eliminate insincere time-servers. The requirement that Conference Presidents, in order to be deemed efficient, must raise tithes and offerings to a fixed membership quota induces frequent and severe pruning out of all dead membership-timber. Adventist statistics are without doubt as reliable as statistics can be.

IV. Report on Questionnaires*

Only a general summary of the questionnaire-results can be given in this report. Some of the questions were merely "feelers," tentatively put out to see if anything could be rationally deduced from the replies. Scattering, idiosyncratic replies must of necessity be ignored and only those analyzed which seem to have some clear significance.

To the objection that only a small fraction of the Adventist membership was reached by the questionnaires it may be answered as follows:

(a) The "Instructions to Conference Presidents" and to "Church Elders" (omitted for lack of space) show that an effort was made to obtain a representative selection of members of all types. Reference to the vocational analysis given below will show that this was accomplished.

* The author will be glad to furnish copies of the questionnaires—which could not be printed for lack of space—to any who may desire to study in detail the method of investigation used in this research.

(b) In order to check the validity of the proportional conclusions, preliminary analyses of the questionnaire-answers were made when less than half of the total number sent out had been received. These analyses were then compared with the final results. An examination of the table giving the results for the "Family reports" (see below) shows that the differences did not in any significant case exceed ten per cent. As the final conclusions drawn are of a very general nature and are based on general tendencies only, the validity of the fundamental data with regard to the conclusions can hardly be questioned.

Family Reports: The reponse to this questionnaire was the least satisfactory, partly on account of the personal nature of the questions asked, and partly because the subjects had little notion of the object of the questionnaire. In many cases only very partial replies were given. Few of the Church Elders ventured the personal judgment asked for under "Remarks." Most of the remarks given were laudatory, but quite a number complained that the member in question did not attend prayer-meeting!

For convenience of comparison the preliminary and final analyses are given (Table I) side by side and marked (1) and (2) respectively. The "Percentages of Total" refer to the total number who reported on any given point and not to the entire total.

Several interesting points may be deduced from this analysis:

(Column 4). About half of the adults who accept Adventism come from evangelical churches, one sixth from the Roman Catholics, and one third from non-church-members. This is about the ratio of these classes in the population of America.

(Column 5). The vocational analysis shows that a fairly representative cross-section of Adventist membership answered the questionnaire.

(Column 7). The educational average of the membership which reported is very near—if anything, a little above—the average of the country as a whole. All but three of the 133 members of college education had been trained in Adventist institutions. The significance of this is pointed out later.

(Column 8). The children of Adventists account for about 40 percent of the total recruits to Adventism. Formal evangelical propaganda accounts for less than one fourth of Adventist growth. The large numbers coming from private study and the personal efforts of the Adventist membership (16 per cent and 17 percent respectively) are significant. The former quota is probably largely due to the very extensive Adventist book and tract work.

(Column 9). The outstanding feature here is that the majority of Adventists consider the Sabbath as their most important doctrine. Even the Second Advent runs a very poor second. The somewhat different orientation of Seventh-Day Adventist ministers to these doctrines will be noted later. It should be stated that of the ninety-nine who referred to the

TABLE I. ANALYSIS OF "FAMILY REPORTS"

Column 1 Total number reporting	Column 4 Previous church-membership				Column 5 Present vocation						Column 7 Education						Column 8 Manner of "Conversion"					Column 9 Important doctrines							Column 10 Important religious influences						
	Total number reporting	Evangelical	Roman Catholic	None	Total number reporting	Professional	Business	Tradesmen	Farmers	Laborers	Total number reporting	No formal education	Grade-school education	High school education	College education	Post-graduate work	Total number reporting	Evangelical	Adventist parentage	Private study	Personal work	Total number reporting	The Sabbath	Second Advent	"Health-reform"	"Testimonies"	Prophecies	"The Whole Truth"	Total number reporting	"Health-reform"	Tithe-paying	Sabbath-keeping	"Testimonies"	Bible-study	Prayer
Preliminary analysis (1) 298 reports	116	62	20	34	151	21	20	34	58	18	251	2	101	108	33	7	273	55	84	37	31	226	121	37	5	5	16	32	231	7	8	58	12	122	21
Percentage of total (1)	39	21	7	11	51	7	7	11	19	6	81	1	33	35	11	2	91	18	28	12	10	75	40	16	2	2	5	11	77	2	3	19	4	41	7
Percentage of total reporting in given column		53	17	30		14	14	22	38	12		1	40	43	13	3		19.5	30.5	13	11		53	21	2.5	2.5	7	14		2.5	4	25	5	54	9
Final analysis (2) 822 reports	285	145	44	96	403	52	48	107	141	55	727	13	288	293	115	18	716	166	279	113	92	638	345	101	14	18	61	99	609	12	17	150	35	333	60
Percentage of total (2)	35.5	18.5	5.5	12	49	6	5.5	13	17	6.5	89	1.5	36	37	14	2	87	20	34	18	11	78	43	12	2	25	7	12	75	1.5	2	18	4	39	7
Percentage of total reporting in given column		51	16	33		13	12	27	32	16		2	40	41	14.5	2.5		23	39	16	17		54	15	2.5	3	9	15		2	3	25	5	55	10

Notes. (a) The percentages are given to the nearest integer, or half-integer.

(b) In this and the following analyses the "Column" numbers or "Question" numbers refer to the numbers given in the respective report or questionnaire.

(c) In view of the occasional scattered or idiosyncratic answers given (which are ignored in the analysis) the partial percentages do not, as a rule, total to 100%.

"whole Truth" as most important, seventy-three were college-educated—i.e., the more intelligent Adventists hesitated to select any one doctrine, but integrated the whole set of doctrines into a unified system. This more nearly approaches the ministerial attitude.

(Column 10). It is highly significant that individual Bible-study is selected by the majority of Adventists as the most important influence in their lives. Even Sabbath-keeping—of prime importance as a doctrine—does not rival the Adventist's own personal researches in the Bible. It will be pointed out later that the devotional or emotional aspects of religion are of secondary importance in Adventism. Every Adventist member is expected to be intellectually independent—to be able to "give a reason for the faith within him."

Adventist thought is medieval in that it accepts certain fundamental dogmata implicitly and explicitly, and then reasons with great acumen and sound logic upon this basis. This combination of "faith and reason" is, of course, unknown in modern philosophy. Many able religious debaters have discovered the difficulty of meeting Adventists if the Adventist premises—which are the "fundamentals" of traditional Protestantism—are accepted.

Conversation with members who were converted to Adventism after reaching maturity indicates that such an experience is a profound psychological crisis. Adventist methods of propaganda appeal alike to the zealous church-member, the self-satisfied Pharisee, and the "worldling" of indefinite practice and conviction. The first interest may be aroused by a spectacular, prophetic announcement. Something akin to alarm follows when it is discovered that the "coming of the Lord" is "near, even at the door," and will bring with it sudden destruction for the unprepared. Follows a vivid, insistent presentation of an extraordinary but astonishingly consistent and well-knit set of doctrines, the "Truth," the only complete, final truth for "this generation." Any effect of salesmanship is quashed by the severe conditions imposed, yet these are almost taken for granted when the full nature of the triumphant experience and final reward is revealed. The majority, of course, "fall out by the way," for "many are called but few are chosen." But those who survive presently settle down into a new mode of life in which many of the former influences are almost entirely shut out, and are gradually fortified in the faith. The new member gives up smoking, drinking, card-playing, movie-and-theater-going, deserts his lodge, works on Sunday and goes to church on Saturday, keeps away from meals where pork or rabbit is likely to be served, and loses most of his

former connections. If he has any spiritual ambition he becomes an ardent propagandist, and spends his spare time distributing Adventist literature. His break from the past is so complete and spectacular that it is not easy to return. Adventists pride themselves on being a "peculiar people," set apart by divine providence for a special work, and are not at all ashamed to be thought of as distinctly different from other people. It is very difficult for an Adventist who has gone through the poignant emotional crisis involved in conversion to deny or give up that experience.

Ministerial Questionnaires: Seventy-two ministers replied to this questionnaire. Their replies to individual questions are discussed in the numerical order of the questions:

On a question as to what Adventist doctrines are most effective in arousing interest of non-Adventists, over half (41) gave the "Prophecies." Of the remainder, 23 cited the related subject of the Second Advent. This seems to be standard Adventist technique. The idea that a study of the Biblical prophecies will furnish a reliable forecast of future events is attractive to a large number of people. From those who come at the first call the Adventist workers are able to hold a small proportion who will accept the whole "Message." The Adventist purpose is to warn everybody—give every one his chance—which fully justifies the wide scattering of their efforts. Adventism is a special message, and its propaganda depends little, if at all, upon presentations of the doctrines common to all sects of Christians.

In answer to a question on the most important doctrines in finally converting people to Adventism the replies were scattered. Thirteen ministers chose the Sabbath as the clinching, or test doctrine. Eleven cited the "life of Christ," ten the "Second Advent," nine the "Atonement," six the "Judgment," and five the "complete Truth." Adventist preachers make effective use of revivalist methods and the common doctrines of Christianity in "bringing out" those who have become interested.

As the most potent means of holding members for Adventism, thirty-three ministers relied chiefly upon keeping church-members busy with personal efforts for others. This, of course, is sound psychology, however it may speak for the fundamental truth of Adventism. Eleven cited interest in foreign missions, eight "health-

reform," three family worship, and only two "preaching." This latter is negatively significant: Adventists seem to regard preaching as chiefly valuable as a propagandist method. Many of the smaller companies are without regular preachers. While sermons are preached every Sabbath in the Adventist churches, this spiritual exercise occupies relatively an unimportant place in the lives of Adventist members. The majority of Adventist ministers spend but a small proportion of their time in pastoral work.

There was an almost unanimous agreement that material difficulties are the only important factor in preventing those who have become acquainted with Adventism from obeying it. Twenty-three listed the difficulty of finding Sabbath-free employment, sixteen the inconvenience of Sabbath-keeping, fifteen the "high standards" (i.e., no smoking, drinking, pork-eating, etc.), eight the loss of social standing, as serious difficulties. The most important inference from these replies is the assumption, by the Adventist ministers, that it is almost impossible for any one to expose himself to a complete presentation of Adventist doctrine without being convinced of its truth. Only material, personal difficulties, complicated by lack of faith, will prevent him from accepting Adventism.

In reply to a question asking what doctrines seem to drive away individuals who had become interested, most of the replies denied that any Adventist doctrines drive away those who have candidly considered the whole "Message." A few referred to the difficulty of obtaining Sabbath-free employment, but hastened to add that this had never proved a real obstacle to those who had made reasonable efforts to find work. Adventists firmly believe that Providence will "open up the way" for any who "step out by faith" and start "keeping the Sabbath" without any promise of employment. They hardly expect any real miracle to be worked until the individual shows unquestioning faith and willingness to obey. They can cite numerous astonishing coincidences or quasi-miraculous interpositions in favor of hard-pressed Sabbath-keepers.

Personal and material factors were unanimously cited as causes of any apostacy. "Worldly attractions" (28), "lack of Bible-study" (11), "lack of prayer" (8), "money troubles" (5), "marriage to unbelievers" (4), and "jealousy of leaders" (3) were the chief factors listed. There was no suggestion that Adventists ever apostatize

because they are won by other systems or are convinced that Adventism is untrue. Personal weakness of character, yielding to temptation, loss of interest, personal grievances, or other causes entirely unconnected with intellectual conviction are the only causes listed.

A question asking for the strongest influence in keeping people faithful to Adventism attracted considerable somewhat heated attention. Forty-eight of the reporting ministers underlined "firm conviction of the truth of the Message" as the outstanding factor, and nearly half of these wrote explanatory paragraphs or theses emphasizing their answers. Twenty-two cited "hope of eternal life." This theme also was amplified by a number, stating their firm belief that their only hope of salvation lay in remaining "true to the Message." Five ministers referred to Seventh-Day Adventism as the "everlasting gospel" while one called it the "whole Bible and nothing but the Bible." Only one minister admitted that personal loyalty to the system or to friends who are Adventists might have anything to do with faithfulness to the Adventist system, and many heavily scored out this suggestion, a few with strong expressions of repudiation.

While it proved difficult to describe a typical Adventist lay-member the general picture of the typical minister seems to stand out clearly. Contrary to the present vogue of Protestant ministers the Adventist preacher nearly always believes completely and quite sincerely the "whole Truth." Of average intellectual ability, his formal education is usually below college graduation. He is very familiar with the Bible *per se*, but has almost no first-hand knowledge of the methods or findings of modern scholarship about the Bible. He proves all his doctrinal points by the Bible and has neat, for the most part plausible, explanations for all "difficult" texts. He does not often think beyond the confines of the Adventist theological system. Those who do, frequently "get off the track" and wander into serious difficulties. If he finds "new light" he must submit it to the General Conference Committee. If it is accepted, well and good; if not, then he must keep it to himself, as far as public presentation is concerned, or give up his ministry. In an effort that is attacking the whole world and expects to reach it in "this generation" denominational unity is far more important than minor theological discrepancies.

The average Adventist minister is chiefly a well-armed propagandist, out on the firing-line. His faith in the mission and destiny of Adventism is so complete that he can hardly avoid an attitude of calm superiority when he comes into contact with other Bible-students. Many who have been attracted to Adventism by the admirable spirit and conduct of Adventists have been exasperated and repelled by the impossibility of coming to intellectual grips with Adventist ministers. The Adventist minister simply presents his carefully prepared answers to all questions and difficulties and the listener can take it or leave it. If he fails to be convinced, that is his misfortune. Adventists were once great debaters, but of late have largely given it up, not because they failed to win points against the inconsistencies of other faiths but because they discovered that few desirable converts were made by such methods. It is the duty of Adventism to present its case to all the world and give every one his chance. Those who do not avail themselves of the opportunity have only themselves to blame. There is no use arguing about it.

There is no "liberal" branch of Adventism. The very few "modernists" in the Adventist ranks keep very quiet about their beliefs. The official and actual attitude of Adventism towards "modernism" is quite unequivocal. The Bible is inspired, and everything which will not square with that dogma is rejected out of hand as "Satanic delusion." There is, among Adventists, an intelligent recognition of proved facts, but these *must* be harmonized with "Revelation." Adventists do not pretend to understand everything but they firmly believe that all facts, if sufficiently well understood, would confirm rather than contradict the fundamental doctrines of Adventism.

But they have little confidence in any conclusions the human mind may reach unless it is aided by higher powers. "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked"—in other words, the human mind is not to be trusted.

Adventists believe that the modern world is making a fatal blunder in trying to ignore the Devil. Satan and evil are just as real to them as God and righteousness. The history of this world is to them a "Great Controversy between Christ and Satan" (the title of one of Mrs. Ellen G. White's volumes) with the children of men as pawns in the game. "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of

wisdom," and any line of thought which is not based *a priori* on the dogma of biblical infallibility is desperately dangerous. The thinker who tries to free his mind from all preconceptions is ignoring the inevitable bias of satanic influence—sometimes called "original sin"— and is tempting God. At the very outset he is giving his mind over to the Devil, who then beclouds his understanding and can get him to believe—or disbelieve—anything. Only as it is guided by the "spirit of God" can any human intellect hope to think rationally.

All pure philosophy would seem, from the Adventist viewpoint, to be a kind of unconscious devil-worship. "Truth" is not a matter of pure reason, but of faith. Faith is the "gift of God," and woe to the man who tampers with this gift by trying to think on his own or decide any question with his own unaided judgment! Still more woe to him if he ventures to ask any irreverent questions! His mind will wander into darkness. He is likely to fall into some one of the numerous intellectual manias—a modern euphemism for being "possessed of a devil"—from which he can be rescued only by some mighty miracle. It can hardly be denied that there is a convincing logic in the Adventist position if the inherent weakness and "original sin" of the human race is admitted.

On the other hand, Adventists fully recognize the achievements of modern science. They constitute one of the chief prophetic signs of the "end." "Knowledge shall be increased and many shall run to and fro."[6] Modern scientific progress has been made in the providence of God, primarily to help Adventists warn the world. They are proud that their missionaries and literature have already traveled by aeroplane to regions otherwise difficultly accessible. The "increase of knowledge"[7] is one of the chief signs of the times. Adventist ministers revel among the magnificent distances of modern astronomy. The miracles of Joshua and Hezekiah[8] are only the more stupendous when it is realized that every law of energy and inertia must have been temporarily suspended to make them possible. Adventists confidently expect, in the very near future, to travel through the curious hiatus in the great nebula of Orion on their way

[6] *Dan.* 12, 1, et seq.
[7] *Dan.* 12, 4.
[8] *Joshua* 10, 12; 2nd *Kings* 20, 9.

to Heaven immediately after the Second Advent. That they will have to travel several thousand times the velocity of light in order to cover this distance within the seven days prescribed only makes the experience the more remarkable. The Adventists deny no fact of science: apparent discrepancies are only more mighty miracles. "Everything is possible (no matter how improbable) with God."

To the Adventist minister, as well as to the layman, there is simply no comparison between any other religion and his own. It has usually come to him as a great revelation, opening up his mind to undreamed-of realms of glory and triumph. The price is high, but insignificant compared with the reward. Like Bunyan's pilgrim he cries, "life, life, eternal life!" and resolutely stops his ears to any disturbing call of the world, of business, of family interference, or of intellectual doubt. He has a more satisfying *summum bonum* than any philosopher ever imagined. He may weep over the lost world—for he is still human—and over his own lost relatives; but the certain salvation of his own soul is ever clearly before him, and will repay a thousand times any petty loss or discomfort in this world. He has no notion of the attitude of Moses who handed the Lord an ultimatum, requesting that his own name be blotted out of the "Book" if Israel was to be rejected.[9] He cannot imagine any satisfaction in a philosophy which would acquiesce in personal extinction if it were part of a greater, higher plan of development. He has, not a material, but a sublimated spiritual selfishness which transcends every earthly relationship. His duty to God, of which his duty to man is but a small part, is above every other consideration. He will be a docile citizen, but from purely secondary motives. He will be as good a husband and father as he can, but by command of God. His duty to the "Work" transcends every other consideration and the recommendation of the "General Conference Committee" is to him the "voice of God on earth."

In their earlier, sometimes ill-prepared mission efforts, Adventist missionaries not infrequently fell at their posts for lack of local knowledge or inadequate home-support;—probably every mission enterprise has passed through a similar stage. At a lone station one missionary died and the other lost his wife. The survivors promptly married, for convenience, and "carried on the Work." The Adventist

[9] *Exodus* 32, 32.

mission-work is now well-equipped and adequately supported, and perhaps it is hardly fair to suggest that economy and efficiency, rather than any sentimental humanitarianism, are the chief motives back of this provision; yet in reading Adventist mission history one cannot miss the impression of the supreme importance of the "Work." It is not uncommon for a missionary to lose his wife at some pest-ridden station, return to America just long enough to get another, and then go back to his dangerous "field." One Adventist Conference President boasted that he had raised forty thousand dollars from the farmers of a western state on the strength of the pitiful death and burial of a missionary's wife at sea. Adventism considers the death of missionaries on the world-battle-field a thousand times more justifiable than the sacrifice of soldiers in war, and while they weep in human sorrow over the loss of friends and relatives they calmly send recruits to the most forlorn posts.

Any study of Adventism must emphasize its "other-worldliness." Not all Adventists, of course, fully reach the transcendental plane of the Adventist ideal, but it is constantly and insistently held before them and they are taught that Christ cannot come until every true Adventist reaches a state of sinless perfection and is able to stand before a stern, righteous God without the intermediation of Christ, the Intercessor.

Adventism is almost as different from conventional, modern, socially-minded Protestantism as was primitive Christianity from the enlightened philosophy of the early Christian era. Adventism is chiefly motivated by a sure expectation of Christ's early return. Like Paul, who so confidently wrote "We who are alive," Adventists expect, very soon, to be literally "caught up in the air" and to be "forever with the Lord."[10] Probably the most poignant wish of ageing Adventists is to "live until the Lord comes."

While the Adventists do not believe that "millions now living will never die," the younger generation is confidently taught not to expect death, if it is faithful. As time passes—it is now eighty years since the first preaching that the "Lord will come in this generation" —there is a natural dimming of the first inspiring vision, but not yet can it be said of Adventism that "hope deferred maketh the

[10] *First Thessalonians* 4, 15.

heart sick." They preserve to a high degree the fervid confidence of their fathers in the faith.

This world means very little to Adventists. The great work to be done in the world is merely preparatory to another world, about to dawn. The "shortness of time," the near impending doom of the whole human race, the immensity of the task which has been assigned to Adventism—these seem to constitute a psychic incentive of tremendous potency.

Now that their work has assumed respectable international proportions some of their assumptions are not at all presumptuous, but there was a touch of sublimity in the confidence with which, more than a generation ago, they went out to conquer the world. With a score of workers and a few hundred members in England they boldly organized the "British Union Conference." Almost every other country has been entered and "possessed" with this Abraham-like faith, and materially this faith has often been justified by the building up of solid organizations, many of them now self-supporting and contributing liberally to the general missionary effort.

Foreign Missionary Questionnaire: These answers, more than any other, breathed a spirit of intense enthusiasm for specific Seventh-Day Adventism. An occasional lapse into "pidgeon-English" did not at all detract from their vivid poignancy. Again, answers of those questioned are taken up in order.

It is evident from answers received that most of the missionaries believe that evangelical work should precede other lines of missionary endeavor. A few mentioned health-work and two colportage—none educational work. The "third angel's Message" is the "important thing," and will "do its own preparation."

As might have been expected, there was unanimous agreement that the teaching of distinctive Adventist doctrines was vital to the social and industrial success which has attended Adventist mission-work. "It is not sufficient that converts be mere professed Christians," wrote one. "That has often been tried, and has always failed. They must be Seventh-Day Adventists." "If they are real Christians," wrote another, "they will be Adventists." "The whole enterprise would collapse," wrote another, "without the doctrinal foundation."

Various answers were given to a question which concerned the

importance of Adventist doctrines as compared with other systems in the training of natives, socially, industrially, and ethically. This question was intentionally provocative. Some even challenged the suggestion. Some blamed certain types of missionaries for encouraging natives to resist the injustice of colonial governments. Adventist missionaries are taught to be exceedingly careful not to antagonize governments of any kind. Others regarded the influence of non-Christian travelers and business-men as particularly pernicious. Perhaps the most helpful suggestion was that a Christian education, teaching the equality of all men before God, together with the increased intelligence which follows education, gave the natives a sense of independence which rendered them less docile to the exploitation of colonial adventurers.

Most of the missionaries felt that they had received a direct divine call to mission-work. A few confessed that their own ardent desire had played a part in their calling.

Many wrote enthusiastically that their anticipations had been more than fulfilled. They confessed to disappointments, but not to disillusionment. They had not accomplished all that had been hoped, and lack of means and help had often been grievous hindrances to success; yet the "joy of service" had amply repaid them for these disappointments.

Very few confessed to any important change of outlook as a result of mission experience. One missionary writing from China suggested that more responsibility might be placed upon native members and workers. This is merely a faint echo of general mission developments in China.

The majority of missionaries thought that spiritual, cultural, and industrial training should go hand in hand.

Almost unanimously the missionaries denied any discouraging effect of Adventist doctrines. "Truly converted" natives are too enthusiastic to be disheartened by even the severest personal restrictions. One missionary defined Christianity as "individual, personal contact with God, and the native who attains this is above discouragement." Knowledge and acceptance of Seventh-Day Adventism is a necessary prerequisite of this attainment.

A question on causes of apostacy brought a long list: insufficient training, critical attitude towards leaders, jealousy, disappointment

in the expectation to be made paid workers, worldly temptations, failure in regular Bible-study, succumbing to temptation to smoke, drink, commit adultery, etc. Failure to live up to Adventist standards means disfellowshipment in mission as well as in home lands.

The general picture of the Adventist foreign missionary seems fairly clear. He usually has a higher degree of enthusiasm than his brother-minister at home. He has made even greater sacrifices for Adventism. He is no less intensely and passionately devoted to Adventism, *per se*, believing it to be the only valid form of Christianity, the particular and peculiar "work of God" in the world today. Years of service in foreign fields do not greatly modify his original attitude. He does not seem to visualize himself at all clearly as part of the great, general mission effort of Christianity against heathendom and Mohammedanism—in the latter case often a losing battle. He meets other missionaries, but his cooperation with them is limited. Their work may be good, but at best is only preparatory to his own. He can make no agreements with them regarding territory, but goes wherever he can find or make an "opening." He "steals the converts"[11] of other missionaries without the slightest compunctions and will proselyte the missionaries themselves if he can, for he considers them all to be in dire need of his message. The social and ethical concomitants of his work, however excellent, are all secondary to the main object, which is to make Adventists. Mission work as a mere civilizing factor would not be worth a flip of his attention.

Yet Adventist mission work is, for the most part, highly esteemed by colonial authorities. Employers will often put up with the inconvenience of Sabbath-keeping natives because of the excellence of their service. A native workman who will neither drink nor commit adultery on any provocation is something of a prize in Africa. However unimportant the Adventists may regard the ethical aspect of their work, its excellence is undoubted.

Church-Elder Questionnaire: The majority of church-elders answered only the statistical part of the questionnaire, and in many cases even these replies were vague and general, rather than numerical. One or two interesting points can be gathered from the figures collected.

Of 1,083 Adventist children educated in Adventist schools, only

[11] This phrase is quoted *verbatim* from the complaint of a non-Adventist mission-report.

111, or about 10 per cent, left Adventism within two years of finishing their school-education. Of 157 Adventist children educated in secular school 99, or about 60 per cent, apostatized from Adventism within two years of leaving school. This number includes 47 who were never baptized into Adventism. Adventist schools are thus revealed as a powerful method of keeping Adventist children within the fold. This result seems to be contrary to the experience of the Roman Catholic Church with its parochial schools, if some recently published articles on this subject are to be credited.

A careful, personal canvass was made of 23 cases of erstwhile Adventist young people who had "given up the Truth." Nine of these treated the matter lightly, were evidently persons of a shallow disposition, professed no firm conviction for anything, but thought Adventists "no better than other people." Seven of the twenty-three had been educated in non-Adventist colleges and professed a serious conviction that Adventism could not be true. Three betrayed the fact that personal grievances had offended them, and "did not believe that such people could have the right religion." Not one of the twenty-three, however, had joined any other denomination.

Three Adventist ministers were asked to comment on the significance of the influence of education on Adventist children, and the suggestion that there must be some weakness in the doctrinal system if it cannot survive a non-sectarian education. Two of these ministers explained that the whole system of modern education was shot through and through with "Satanic deceptions" and no immature mind could possibly hope to expose itself to such a system without complete demoralization. The third minister held that Adventists had the right to educate their own children as they pleased. He admitted the point to the original contention, but the "work of God" needed workers, and Providence ordained that a certain number of children should be born and educated as Adventists to carry on that work.

Tithe-Paying: Adventists believe that faithfulness in tithe-paying will be rewarded by material blessing. Of 119 members over sixty-five years of age reported "dependent" only two had been faithful tithe-payers while in business. Of 342 Adventists in business on their own account only eight were reported to have failed during the past seven years, and not one of these had been a regular tithe-

payer. Of the 334 successful business men, 318 were known to be faithful tithe-payers. Adventist ministers admit that non-tithe-payers may be successful in business and that a shiftless tithe-payer may fail. But they have a number of well-authenticated instances in which pests or pestilences, sweeping over farming districts, have left the crops or cattle of tithe-paying Adventists miraculously unscathed.

These data illustrate the kind of direct, providential interpositions which Adventists confidently expect to be exercised on their behalf. Miraculous healings are frequent among them. "The Hand that Intervenes," by the President of the General Conference, records many astonishing coincidences and miracles in connection with Adventist mission work.

V. General Conclusions

The results of a scientific research are not bound to please any one. The truth of Adventist theology is not the question under examination in this investigation. The descriptive evidence is intended to show that Adventism presents a high, almost unique, yet thoroughly practical and materially successful type of altruistic conduct, on a very considerable and continually expanding scale. The examination of the beliefs, motives, and methods of Adventism is an attempt to provide the material for a judgment of the causes of this conduct. A considerable proportion of the material success attending the Adventist enterprise can be accounted for by an organizational efficiency both comprehensive and minute, their intense enthusiasms for service and sacrifice and their zeal for propaganda can not. Every line of inquiry, statistical, introspective, and behavioristic, leads to the conclusion that it is their intense, unfaltering belief in the absolute truth of their doctrines which motivates their activities.

Other altruistic organizations might profit by an intensive study of their organization and methods. They have perfected a technique of high effectiveness. But the main conclusion remains clear: it would not be possible to detach the distinctive Adventist doctrines from Adventism without wrecking the movement.

What changes in human motivation future evolution may effect can hardly be guessed, but it seems very clear at present that the

average human being will not exert himself heroically or even earnestly in the service of mankind without the aid of some potent psychic stimulus. Here and there are rare spirits who will sacrifice themselves on the altar of service from pure, unmotivated, philosophical altruism. Education has no methods, as yet, of producing such characters if indeed education can "produce" anything. Pure knowledge is not a motivator. The genial, agnostic philosopher rarely sacrifices any item of comfort, pleasure or convenience for the good of mankind. The philanthropist must be possessed by a burning zeal for some particular type of service. Without this he will be a luke-warm, *laissez-faire* well-wisher, but no doer. And the masses must have, in business slogans, in religion dogmata. They must believe their dogmata utterly, without the shadow of a doubt, and the dogmata must be direct, definite, and explicit.

Another inevitable conclusion is the supreme effectiveness of "other-worldliness" as a motive for altruistic conduct. In this respect the Adventists merely confirm conclusions already drawn from the history of other religions. Early Christians and later reformers died cheerfully in the sure hope of salvation. Countless Moslems perished gloriously on the battle-field with the promise of paradise before their eyes. As modern religion has receded from the bliss of Heaven and the miseries of Hell its vigor has diminished. The altruistic philosophy of the Antonines, however humane and enlightened, could not stand before a crude, superstitious, but vigorous Christianity. Modern Protestantism bids fair to share the fate of ancient philosophy. Social service and reform are poor substitutes for the promise of eternal bliss in a new world which is "even at the door."

The enthusiasm of Adventists is all the more remarkable in view of their profound pessimism regarding the future of this world. "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed"[12]; and Adventists do not admit any possibility of the remission of the sentence. Far from preaching that "millions now living will never die," Adventism teaches that the great majority now living will perish miserably, *en masse*, in the destruction of the Second Advent. Fate's experiment with the earth is a proved failure, save for a few chosen ones, "plucked as brands from the burning." Every uplift or reform move-

[12] *Jonah* 3, 4.

ment in the world, except Adventism, is doomed to early failure. The world is destined to grow rapidly worse, in spite of every effort, until God, in righteous wrath, destroys it. All that the best and noblest can hope to do is to save themselves from the universal ruin and perhaps persuade a few others to come with them. Yet this desperate philosophy has bred a type of altruistic effort almost unique in massed zeal, vigor, and intensiveness, highly charged with enthusiasm and showing great practical effectiveness.

Several authorities have ventured to predict the future of Adventism. A German encyclopaedist[13] forecasts the growth of the denomination to considerable numbers before the original impulse subsides and the movement settles down to a conventional, conservative denomination, having shed its most extreme features. Time and experience are already modifying some of these. While opposing life-insurance, Adventists insure their institutions against fire. In spite of the imminent nearness of the "end" new Adventist institutions are constantly going up, solid and fire-proof in construction and financed for long periods of time. Theoretically these are all doomed to early destruction, being merely temporary tools for "finishing the Work." The *Review and Herald* recently executed a skillful retreat from the more rigid interpretation of the "this generation" doctrine which was formerly held and had been the basis of thousands of impassioned sermons in which it was relentlessly calculated that the "end" could not possibly be delayed for more than a "very few years." Fifty years of constant use has dulled the edge of this once so powerful doctrine. A recent authoritative statement of belief[14] omits all mention of the "spirit of prophecy" (belief in the inspiration of Mrs. Ellen G. White's writings) formerly also a strong point. Time changes all things.

Measured by any conceivable quantitative rule of virtue Adventism manifests a high degree of altruism. Adventists doubtless constitute a considerable proportion of the "salt of the earth," i.e., the moral conservatists which retard the putrefaction of society. If the Adventists are correct in their beliefs there is, of course, no hope for those who cannot accept what seem to them to be utterly irrational doctrines. If, on the other hand, Adventism has, like early Christi-

[13] Meyers *Konversationslexicon*, 7th edition, Article "Adventisten."
[14] *Signs of the Times*, Vol. 54, No. 19.

anity, the germ of something better and higher which will ultimately raise our decaying civilization to a loftier plain, the sooner we can recognize and avail ourselves of these principles, the better. Whether any effective substitute for rigid dogmatism and "other-worldliness" will ever be found cannot be stated now; in the meantime it must be admitted that these are without near rivals as motives for intensive, aggressive, practical altruistic conduct on a large scale.

Many minor inferences are suggested by the data of this research. Among other things, it seems that the practical altruist must be possessed by a kind of "divine egotism," a conviction that what he has to offer is so overwhelmingly and patently superior to anything else in the world that no one who will pause long enough to consider it will be able to refuse it. A severe code of personal conduct is more effective and more attractive to individuals capable of altruistic effort than a liberal system of morality.

The possibility of a rational application to social training of these ideas—which in themselves are not new—and methods of applying them to educational technique should be subjects of future research. Even a moderate degree of success in such an attempt would change the face of the world.

VI. Summary

In the attempt to find some basis for a statistical study of the motivation of altruism the Seventh Day Adventist denomination was chosen as an example for investigation because: (a) It manifests a type of mass-altruism which is very intense and unique in many respects; (b) Its doctrines and practices differ so distinctly from anything else that it seemed promising to attempt a correlation of these characteristics with the altruistic results manifested. The investigation was conducted by means of numerous personal interviews with Adventists of various types and by over two thousand questionnaires.

The two chief factors in the success of Adventism seem to be (1) An intense belief by practically all Adventists of the absolute, complete truth of every item of Adventist doctrine; (2) A strong sure faith of eternal life and an "other-worldly" reward to those who remain specifically true to Adventism. More generally it is concluded that a firm belief in specific, explicit dogmata and a confident expec-

tation of abundant definite rewards are still the essential conditions of anything like mass-altruism.

VII. Bibliography

Official histories of the Seventh-Day Adventism are: *The Rise and Progress of Seventh Day Adventism*, later revised under the title *The Great Second Advent Movement*, both by J. N. Loughborough, *The Story of the Advent Message*, by Matilda Ericson Andross, and *The Origin and Progress of Seventh-Day Adventism*, by Dr. M. E. Olsen. These works are all published by the Review and Herald Publishing Co., of Takoma Park, Washington, D.C. Dr. Olsen's work is authoritative.

The historical justification of Adventism was most ambitiously attempted by J. N. Andrews in his *History of the Sabbath* (Review and Herald Publishing Co., 1887) more recently revised and enlarged by L. R. Conradi (*International traktatgesellschaft*, Hamburg, Germany, 1921). Pastor Conradi has followed up this work in his *Das Goldene Zeitalter* (*International traktatgesellschaft*, Hamburg, Germany, 1923). This work has not yet been published in English. Pastor Conradi is doubtless the most scholarly, as well as the most enthusiastic, researcher into the history of medieval and early-modern Adventism and Sabbatarianism.

The writings of Mrs. Ellen G. White, regarded by most Adventists as inspired, are very numerous and voluminous. They include some volumes which have found general favor in evangelistic circles (notably *Steps to Christ*, originally published by Fleming Revell, which has been translated into many languages and has enjoyed an enormous circulation) together with frankly Adventist propaganda works and "Messages" intended for Adventists primarily. The following are outstanding:

Early Writings written before the authoress was twenty, in a very simple yet highly dramatic style, charged with the most intense and "other-worldly" religious fervor.

Testimonies for the Church in nine volumes. The earlier volumes contain personal experiences along with many very pointed personal messages and rebukes. The later volumes consist of counsels, warnings, and occasional predictions.

Prophets and Kings, *Patriarchs and Prophets*, and *Great Controversy* are commentaries on Biblical and secular history, covering the religious history of the world from the creation to the end of time. The concluding chapters of *Great Controversy* contain very detailed, explicit predictions of the exact events preceding, accompanying, and following the Second Advent, based on Biblical prophecies but containing much original matter.

Gospel Workers is a volume addressed to Adventist ministers and their assistants.

Education contains the foundation principles of the Adventist educational system, together with much very sound advice and counsel on the conduct of schools.

The Ministry of Healing describes the Adventist health-reform principles from a Biblical view-point.

Christ's Object Lessons is a systematic commentary on the Gospel parables. The proceeds from the sale of this book were devoted to the rasing of indebtedness on Adventist schools, and brought in several hundred thousand dollars.

The Desire of Ages is a very attractively written and widely circulated life of Christ.

All of these works are published by the Review and Herald Publishing Company, of Takoma Park, Washington, D. C.

Other Adventist classics include *Daniel and Revelation*, by Uriah Smith, for nearly half a century editor of the *Review and Herald*, the official Adventist church-paper. This was for many years the chief prophetic book of the Adventists. It has recently been revised by L. R. Conradi, but the original work is still being sold in large numbers by Adventist colporteurs throughout the world. *The Marvel of Nations* was very widely circulated during the latter half of the nineteenth century, but is now out of print. It recapitulated historical events which fulfilled prophecy, culminating in the place taken by America in the final scenes of earthly history.

The Adventists now have large, well-equipped publishing houses and printing-presses all over the world. The total of their publications amounts to hundreds of volumes and thousands of tracts and periodicals, in more than two hundred languages, and these are assidously circulated by an army of over ten thousand colporteurs. The total sales of Adventist literature amount to over sixty million dollars, to date.

All standard encyclopedias contain articles on Adventistism but these are for the most part inaccurate, inadequate, and poor in their judgment of the selected material.

The author furnished three protocols as examples, and four questionnaires, with blanks used as instructions to church elders, and to conference presidents. Lack of space makes it necessary to omit all of these in printing.—*Editor*.

THE TAX SYSTEM OF COLORADO

By A. Gayle Waldrop

Property has been almost everywhere replaced by income as the criterion of obligation to pay. In all the leading countries of the world the general property tax has long since disappeared, to be supplanted by the income tax, and by other taxes designed to reach earnings rather than property values.[1]

Laying on real estate the burden of state, county, town, and school revenues, and allowing to escape much of the intangible and tangible personalty, the tax system of Colorado, inequitable and inadequate, survives the recommendations for revision made by experts, tax commissioners, legislators, and governors.

Reporting on the revenue system of Colorado in 1916, Dr. R. M. Haig of Columbia University, an associate of Dr. E. R. A. Seligman, who is the leading tax authority in the United States, declared Colorado's problem to be the universal one: "The crumbling of the general property tax under complex economic conditions, decentralized administration, and high tax rates." The result, he said, was "an unfair distribution of the tax burden and a demoralizing feeling of injustice which affects both taxpayer and administrator."

Commenting on Dr. Haig's study of *The Work of the Colorado Tax Commission*, Dr. Seligman in 1916 declared:

> The trouble is not with the tax commission but with the law under which it is operating, and the general-tax system. This is not the place or the time to call attention to the defects of the general property tax. They have been abundantly pointed out in many recent reports. There is not a single tax expert in the entire country who approves of the system as it is provided by law in Colorado. It is, under modern conditions, impossible to secure fiscal justice under that system. Any attempt to patch it up by better administration only throws its defects into greater relief.
>
> . . . . Let the voters of Colorado decide to change the system, and to utilize as their strongest ally the much abused and unjustly attacked tax commission. It is only along this line that real tax reform can be accomplished.

It is the purpose of this study to show the defects of the general property tax, to recall past criticisms of the Colorado tax system, and to suggest the income tax as a much needed support for the system. The study is the preliminary work for a special committee on taxation and retrenchment, or may serve as an aid to the newly created legislative reference bureau.

[1] Sound Tax Reform, 1922, E. R. A. Seligman. *Chicago Daily News Reprints*, No. 3.

In 1927, as in 1916, the general property tax is the mainstay of the revenue system, and is the elastic element. The poll tax, whose enforcement was a farce, was abolished in 1921. A two cent tax on gasoline,[2] a motor vehicle license fee, an inheritance tax, insurance fees, together with income from state lands and grants from the federal government, made up, with the general property tax, more than thirteen million dollars of the slightly less than eighteen million of state revenue for the fiscal year 1925. Various State departments, charitable, penal, and educational institutions and miscellaneous sources make up the balance. In 1925, general property taxes were $5,788,599 of the total state revenue of $17,776,297. For the biennium 1923–1924, general property taxes were $13,097,499 of a total of $35,204,672. For the preceding biennium the figures were $11,777,109 and $33,981,515. Thus the general property tax supplies from slightly less to slightly more than one-third of the state revenues.

But this is only one side of the picture. The general property tax, supplemented to some extent by special assessments in the larger towns, carries the burden of county, school, and town revenues. In 1924 the state levy was 3.7 mills. The same year the average total levy for county, town, and school purposes was 28.01. County levies ranged from 2.65 to 25; town levies from 3.63 to 53.6; school levies from 5.73 to 18.97.

To give the story in dollars, the distribution of the general property tax in Colorado for state, county, school, and town purposes in 1923, 1924, 1925 was as follows:

TABLE 1

Year	State[3]	County	School	Town	Total
1923	6,080,798	8,852,079	19,493,711	7,814,897	42,241,487
1924	5,678,935	8,863,072	20,202,029	8,248,271	42,992,308
1925	5,726,498	9,459,116	21,248,798	8,756,057	45,190,471

In round figures then, the state levy is one-seventh of the total. And,—most significant,—county, town, and school levies are increasing greatly.

[2] Raised to 3 cents in 1927.

[3] State expenditures include general government; protection to persons and property; development and conservation of natural resources; conservation of health and sanitation; highways; charities, hospitals and corrections; higher education, and recreation. School taxes, which approach one-half the total general property tax, finance the public school system.

These are the burdens. Who bears them? A comparison of summary of abstracts of assessment for the years 1912, 1913, 1921, 1924, and 1925, in percentage terms shows the relative tax burdens as follows:

TABLE 2

	1912	1913	1921	1924	1925
Land and Improvements	21.27	24.71	34.84	33.28	32.22
Metalliferous Mining Properties	4.27	3.52	1.57	1.5	1.50
Live Stock	4.26	4.86	4.37	3.18	3.05
Timber, Coal, and Oil Properties	1.98	1.57	1.61	1.7	1.86
Town and City Lots and Improvements	40.00	35.60	26.53	29.92	31.06
Corporations Assessed by Tax Commission	14.44	19.92	14.35	14.81	14.76
Merchandise	3.95	3.68	5.54	5.22	5.26
Manufactures	.83	1.04	2.60	2.58	2.49
Bank Stock	1.84	2.21	1.97	1.68	1.62
Money, Credits and Accounts	.97	.86	1.24	1.29	1.15
Miscellaneous (Less exemptions)	6.19	2.03	5.38	4.85	5.03

Analysis of the table, which is taken from the fourteenth annual report of the state tax commission, shows among other things: that land and improvements pay almost eleven per cent more in 1925 than in 1912; that town and city lots and improvements pay almost nine per cent less in 1925 than in 1912; that corporations assessed by the commission pay approximately the same percentage; and that merchandise and manufactures pay respectively 1.2 per cent and 1.6 per cent more. And most amazing, intangibles such as bank stock, money, credits and accounts show little increase in percentage, bank stock declining while the other class rises only .18 per cent.

Real estate paid 61.27 per cent in 1912, and 63.28 per cent in 1925. But, the burden has been shifted. The farmer (land and improvements) paid almost 10.95 per cent more in 1925 than in 1912; the town dweller (town and city lots and improvements) paid 8.94 per cent less. Questioning the justice of this change, we repeat that real estate paid 63.28 per cent of the tax burden in 1925. This is out of all proportion, for much intangible wealth in Colorado is not assessed for taxation. Before producing statistics on this point it is pertinent to list and explain the defects of the general property tax.

Seligman[4] names as defects of the general property tax: inequality of assessment, failure to reach personal property, incentive to dishonesty, regressivity, and double taxation. Lutz[5] draws three indictments against the tax: it proposes to apply a uniform tax burden to different classes of property which vary widely in productive power, and which, moreover, are not all equally certain to be fully assessed; it introduces and perpetuates a very undesirable attitude toward this, and in time, toward all tax laws; a very inequitable distribution of the tax burden has resulted among different classes of property, among different individuals, and among different communities.

The first constitutional injunction,[6] that of uniformity of taxation, is violated by inequality of assessment. The Colorado Tax Commission found in 1913 only five of sixty-three counties in which property was assessed at full value. In five counties property was assessed at less than half value. This condition existed after the commission had warned the local assessors. What the situation was before can be imagined. Until the creation of the commission in 1912 with the express purpose of securing full value assessment and fair equalization among various sections of the State, elective county assessors had succumbed to the competition to put assessments as low as any other, violating the law of "just valuation." The State Board of Equalization had been blocked by court decisions from increasing the aggregate value or increasing valuations of classes of properties in counties, and had decided that further effort was vain. Formally it had resolved it was helpless to carry out the purposes for which it was created. That its appeal was unheard is incredible but true. It was only after thirty-five years of competitively determined assessments that Colorado had its first taste of equalization by the Tax Commission.

The work of the Tax Commission has been most creditable, though much abused and criticised. The commission was handicapped by the defeat of a constitutional amendment to centralize all powers of supervision and equalization in it, when in November,

[4] *Essays in Taxation*, tenth edition. Chapter on the General Property Tax. New York, 1925.

[5] *Public Finance*, H. L. Lutz. Chapter on the General Property Tax. New York, 1926.

[6] Art. X, Sec. 2, of the Constitution: "All taxes shall be uniform upon the same class of subjects within the territorial limits of the authority levying the tax, and shall be levied and collected under general laws, which shall prescribe such regulations as shall secure a just value for taxation of all property, real and personal."

1912, the amendment was voted on with thirty-one other proposals. In 1916 its life was threatened, but the voters refused to abolish it despite strong agitation. In 1925 Governor Morley attempted to cripple its efficiency by vetoing part of its appropriation. Counties subscribed in proportion to assessed valuation in order that a secretary and two investigators might be retained. The commission having charge of supervision of local assessments, equalization among counties, and the original assessment of special properties such as railroads, telegraph and telephone companies, and local public utilities, has done excellent work in making for equality of assessment.

The second defect of the general property tax, failure to reach personal property, is the most flagrant in Colorado as in other states. The general property tax was the symbol of justice in taxation in the primitive economic community, but in modern economic society it is impossible to prevent personal property from slipping out of the assessment rolls. The industrial revolution, the factory system, the wage earner and hired man, the capitalist and the financier, the corporation, new forms of capital and credit on a large scale—these demand a new form of taxation. Property is no longer the criterion of ability to pay. Personal property is no longer visible. It more and more takes the form of mortgages, bonds and stocks, securities of all kinds. Slowly in Colorado, then more rapidly, personal property has slipped out of the assessment lists, leaving the general property tax a real property tax, and causing injustice and inequality between classes and individuals. The tax on personal property has come to be in inverse ratio to its quantity; the more it has increased the less it has paid. In New York City, a committee reported, the tax has become one "upon ignorance and honesty." In Illinois it has been described as "a school for perjury, promoted by law." In West Virginia it has come to be considered pretty much in the same light as "a donation to the neighborhood church or Sunday School." What else could happen? To declare stocks and bonds was to have taxes take one-third to two-thirds of their return. Such a confiscatory tax demanded escape. And that such property escaped from such a tax in Colorado is evident when federal income tax statistics of individuals and corporations in Colorado are considered. In 1924, $10,186,833 was paid on net incomes of more than $265,000,000.

In Colorado in 1924, 73,350 individuals filed Federal income tax returns, or 7.3 per cent of the estimated population of 1,004,803. Of this total 36,844 were non-taxable because of exemptions and deductions. The net income reported was $205,087,973, and the tax paid by the 36,506 individuals having taxable income was $3,162,736. The net income for corporations was $60,846,149, and the tax was $7,024,097. Of 6,494 corporations 2,891 reported net incomes. Of this number 383 manufacturing corporations and 173 mining and quarrying corporations reported net incomes of more than $33,000,000 and paid almost $4,000,000 of the $7,024,097 corporation tax. In the income levels above $10,000, returns numbered only 1,856, yet these accounted for $2,632,355 of the total tax of $3,162,736. Thus 34,650 individuals paid only $530,381.

Colorado individuals paid federal income taxes of more than $40,000,000 in the years 1916 to 1924 inclusive. During the same years corporation taxes amounted to more than $44,000,000.

TABLE 3

FEDERAL INCOME TAX RETURNS BY YEARS FOR INDIVIDUALS

Year	Number	Net Income	Tax
1916	4,435	$ 53,854,130	$1,055,758
1917	40,627	137,853,875	5,184,948
1918	54,160	159,487,951	5,844,925
1919	57,526	191,001,999	7,196,593
1920	74,198	219,277,184	6,766,900
1921	69,676	174,490,980	3,862,862
1922	67,463	184,572,407	4,869,555
1923	72,366	200,572,724	3,267,732
1924	73,350	205,087,973	3,162,736

TABLE 4

FEDERAL INCOME TAX RETURNS BY CORPORATIONS

Year	No. Reporting Net Income	Net Income	Tax
1916	2,986	$57,043,218	$1,115,854
1917	3,539	96,761,318	4,743,980
1918	3,273	74,209,860	5,504,966
1919	3,107	79,287,797	6,237,031
1920	2,976	66,034,834	5,135,565
1921	2,340	34,041,045	2,716,262
1922	2,720	55,835,080	5,508,928
1923	2,636	60,490,802	6,182,816
1924	2,891	60,846,149	7,024,097

In "The Financing of Public School Education in Colorado,"[1] and again in "The Financing of Public Higher Education in Colorado," Dr. Don C. Sowers, executive secretary, Bureau of Business and Governmental Research of the University of Colorado Extension Division, produces figures to show "that millions of dollars of intangible property in Colorado are not being reached by the present system of taxation." He begins with an indictment of the general property tax:

> Colorado is still clinging to the old general property tax and has not yet developed the newer taxation methods which are necessary to bring the system of taxation into harmony with changed economic conditions. As a result, farm lands and improvements, town and city real estate, livestock, and miscellaneous personal property pay over 71 per cent of the total taxes; corporations, banks, manufacturers and merchandise pay 24 per cent; while intangible property contributes less than 2 per cent of our total taxes. That the amount of wealth represented by intangible property or property in securities is large in Colorado as is also the amount of income derived from professional earnings and profits in business, is shown by returns made to the commissioner of internal revenue, under the provisions of the federal income tax law.
>
> The net income of individuals in Colorado making income tax returns to the federal government in 1920 was $219,277,184; this amount included $19,540,102 which was received from dividends which were exempt from the normal federal tax; assuming that these securities yielded 4 per cent it appears that citizens of Colorado had invested in tax-exempt securities the sum of $488,504,000 which was almost one-third of the total assessed valuation of the state for that year. The cash value of all promissory notes, bonds, debentures and all other written evidences of indebtedness reported in Colorado for taxation purposes the same year was $9,950,383.
>
> These figures indicate that millions of dollars of intangible property in Colorado are not being reached by the present system of taxation. Individuals securing incomes from salaries, professional earnings, and investments in securities go practically untaxed.
>
> New methods of taxation have been devised and used successfully by the United States government and by other state governments to tap these vast resources of wealth and to make them contribute their just share to the support of government. These newer methods consist of state income taxes, classified property taxes, special taxes on corporations and business, and severance taxes.

Personal property does not escape from the income tax. Intangible wealth bears its share equally with returns from houses and lands. Bonds and stocks pay a fair share, as do professional earnings. The turnover of capital which makes a greater return than the capital that is less profitably invested bears its relative burden. The income tax bears justly on the ability of the individual and the

[1] *University of Colorado Studies*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 1 and 2, June and September, 1924, Boulder, Colo.

corporation. It overcomes that fundamental defect of the general property tax, the failure to reach personal property.

To return to other defects of the general property tax: it is often regressive, that is, the rate increases as the property or income decreases.

> The tax on personalty is levied virtually only on those who already stand on the assessor's book as liable to the tax on realty. Those who own no real estate are in most cases not taxed at all; those who possess realty bear the taxes for both. The weight of taxation really rests on the farmer, because in the rural districts the assessors add the personalty, which is generally visible and tangible, to the realty, and impose the tax on both. What is practically a real property tax in the remainder of the state becomes a general property tax in the rural regions. The farmer bears not only his share, but also that of the other classes of society.[8]

Finally, there is double taxation under the general property tax. The problem is that of debt exemption or no debt exemption. Both have proved equally bad in practice. Individuals should be taxed on what they own, not what they owe, it may be contended. Then mortgage debts on real property and general liabilities on personalty should be exempted. But deduction for indebtedness results in such injustice and deception as to be utterly unendurable, investigators say. It is thoroughly pernicious in operation, offering temptation to fraud and perjury, making the creation of fictitious debts a paying investment. Yet the fault lies not in debt exemption, but in the taxation of property. The general property tax under either of these methods produces crying injustice.

"If we sum up all these inherent defects," a tax expert declares, "it will be no exaggeration to say that the general property tax in the United States is a dismal failure." And again:

> Historically, theoretically, and practically, the general property tax is discredited. Because of its attempt to tax intangible as well as tangible things, it sins against the cardinal rules of uniformity, of equality, and of universality of taxation. It puts a premium on dishonesty and debauches the public conscience; it reduces deception to a system, and makes a science of knavery; it presses hardest on those least able to pay; it imposes double taxation on one man and grants entire immunity to the next. In short, the general property tax is soflagrantly inequitable that its retention can be explained only through ignorance or inertia. It is the cause of such crying injustice that its alteration or its abolition must become the battle cry of every statesman and reformer.

[8] *Essays in Taxation*, Seligman.

Such is the arraignment and such the conclusion reached by Dr. E. R. A. Seligman,[9] whose essays and studies in taxation have influenced legislators and students for a generation, and whose advice resulted in the adoption of New York's successful system of income taxation. Nor has any voice been raised to contest the validity of his judgment.

Two factors hasten the passing of the general property tax in Colorado; the changing economic conditions already alluded to, wherein property is no longer the index of a man's taxpaying ability, and the growth of governmental expenditures caused by the expansion of governmental functions.

Colorado is still a mixture of the primitive and the modern in economic life, but manufacturing has come to be second only to agriculture in the value of products. The value of products in 1923[10] was $255,182,504. Then, there is the growth of governmental expenditures, the common fate of all states. The depreciation of the dollar has something to do with growth, but the expanding functions of government are also responsible. From the punitive or repressive stage, the State has progressed to the preventive stage, thence to the ameliorative stage, and within recent years to the constructive stage. Citizens expect and demand more of local and state governments as well as the federal government.

Not only do they want better roads and better schools, but they want parks, public health service, and many things which heretofore were regarded as in the domain of private, not public finance. There is no hope of limiting the expenditures of a growing state.[11] The problem is one of efficient spending, of effective budgeting of public expenditures,[12] and of revising revenue systems to provide for needed moneys, and to provide against the wholesale exemption of any class from its public obligation.

It is to the advantage, therefore, of all sections of the State, to

[9] If quotations appear frequently from his writings, and if those who have read his works find frequent echoes and paraphrases, it is to be explained by the fact that his studies are the outstanding ones on the subject, and the most authoritative.

[10] *Colorado State Year Book*, Denver, 1925.

[11] Note statistics of Table 1, on page 234.

[12] The 26th General Assembly (1927) passed seventy-five appropriation bills providing for expenditures totalling $6,396,990. The estimated state revenue, according to the state auditor, was $4,548,000, or $1,848,990 less than the appropriations. In 1925 over-appropriations of approximately $1,000,000 were met only by an unexpectedly large receipt from the inheritance tax.

find a solution of the tax problem. The financial problems of the cities[13] may be solved only in this way, while the interests of the rural regions in securing a fair distribution of the state burdens compels their intelligent support of the movement. There can be little doubt that in Colorado progress in taxation lies away from the general property tax, and in the direction of the income tax.

Most significant is the fact that the state levy, falling from 4.5555 in 1912 to 1.3 in 1913 (because of the full valuation enforced by the newly created tax commission), has been under 3 mills only four years since 1913, and has twice been more than 4 mills. The years and levies are: 1914—1.39; 1915—2.1; 1916—2.07; 1917—3.12; 1918—2.77; 1919—3.47; 1920—3.47; 1921—4.35; 1922—4.48; 1923—3.93; and 1924 and 1925—3.7. This indicates that the revenues resulting from taxation on full valuation have already been absorbed by the needs of a growing state. Where, then, will Colorado find needed revenues for further expansion, and how will it meet the problem of inequality of taxation caused by the escape of personal property?

In its first annual report, 1912, the state tax commission said: "The commission is of the opinion that the most equitable form of taxation is the income tax." The report suggested, however, that Wisconsin's experiment with the tax adopted the preceding year be watched before Colorado attempt it. Surveying the general property tax, the commission declared the assessment of intangible property to be its weakest feature. From 1901 to 1912, it reported, assessment on this class of property varied from $10,000,000 to $21,000,000. The commission added $2,000,000 to the assessment its first year.

During the same period the assessment of moneys, credits, bank accounts, etc., declined $8,000,000. This, the commission judged to be due to the failure of assessors to find such property, or the ability of tax payers in concealing it. Written evidences of indebtedness were higher in 1901 and 1902 than in any year since, the 1912 report continued. Yet the increase in value of this class of property had been great, the population of the State had increased from 539,700 in 1900 to 799,024 in 1910.

Other statistics adduced in this first report concerned capital

[13] See statistics on relative increase in expenditures by state, county, school, and town, on page 234.

employed in manufactures. The United States Census reported in 1904, $107,664,000, and in 1909, $162,688,000. Assessed valuation in Colorado for 1903 was only $3,487,122, and in 1912, $3,507,675. Moreover, the commission said: "At the present time many industries receiving large incomes pay small taxes, while others, owning property that produces little or no income, must pay a large proportion of the total tax." Here, the essential injustice of the general property tax is exposed.

The second, third, and fourth annual reports of the commission add nothing of value to our study.

After pointing to an increase in taxes because of schools and roads, the fifth annual report of the commission recommended three constitutional amendments and a number of statutory provisions. These were: abolition of the State Board of Equalization (consisting of the governor, secretary of state, state treasurer, auditor, and attorney general); making the term of county assessors four instead of two years, and leaving their manner of selection to the legislature; and the removal of restrictions upon the legislature so as to make it less difficult for new forms of taxation, such as income or gross earnings tax, to be introduced. Among the statutory provisions was one to increase the assessment of metal mines to their actual value.

"The time is near when arrangements must be made to combine income and other modern methods with our property tax," the seventh annual report in 1918 insisted. Again, constitutional amendments proposed included a removal of restrictions,

> so that the legislature may be free to supplant the general property tax upon intangible property by the income tax system for state and local purposes. . . . . Real estate, utility corporations, livestock, and merchandise, are paying over 90 per cent of our total tax. This is not just, and the present system will sooner or later reach the breaking point. Years of experience by every state in our nation has conclusively demonstrated that a success cannot be made of trying to tax money, notes, bank deposits, stocks, bonds, and other intangibles under the general property system. Experience likewise demonstrates that income tax for all purposes is the only rational solution of the problem.

The commission recommended that some form of income tax for state and local purposes be adopted, and suggested that salaries of all public officials be made taxable. Again the commission asked that the term of assessors be lengthened to four years, and now asked that they be appointed. It repeated its conviction that metal mining

property be assessed at actual value. It asked that the inheritance tax be placed under the commission instead of the attorney general's office.

Recounting increasing expenditures, the eighth annual report of the commission in 1919 declared: "The burden on real property which bears the brunt of taxation in our system, is becoming well nigh intolerable." It recalled the inaugural message of Governor Oliver H. Shoup, of January 14, 1919: "It is recommended that you investigate fully and very carefully the subject of taxation in order to determine whether the tax burden can be more justly and equitably distributed." The commission again asked that metal mining property be assessed at actual value, declaring that the present law makes for practically a subsidy at the expense of farmers and manufacturers.

The ninth annual report repeated the recommendations for legislation made in the seventh report. The tenth annual report recorded declining values in land, livestock, and mining property, showing for the State a loss of valuation of three-fourths of 1 per cent. "The bill, looking to the creation of an income tax system, so long advocated by this commission, did not get out of committee," the report set down as history.

A further loss in valuation of 1.8 per cent of the State total was reported by the commission in its next annual report. "Attention was called, in the first biennial report of this commission made in 1912," the eleventh annual report read,

> to the desirability of considering an income tax for Colorado to support our general property tax, and to take the place of the intangible personal property tax. At that time only one state, Wisconsin, had adopted a thorough-going income tax law, and its success or failure as a state measure had not been demonstrated. Since then some 12 to 15 states, notably New York and Massachusetts, have adopted income tax measures which seem to be working satisfactorily, and the movement is steadily spreading. . . . . An amendment to Sec. 6, Art 10 of the constitution, empowering the legislature to impose a uniform or graduated tax on any or all incomes, was submitted to the people at the November election (1922). This amendment was defeated. It is the opinion of many that this defeat is to be attributed largely to a misunderstanding of the effect of such a law, and to the well known disinclination of the people to look with favor upon any measure pertaining to new forms of taxation. The legal department of the State has recently expressed the opinion that a uniform income tax could be adopted in Colorado without a constitutional amendment.

The twelfth annual report recorded a further loss of .35 per cent

in State valuation. In the year this report was made, 1923, a joint income and business profits tax, copied almost word for word from the model bill recommended by the National Tax Association, was passed by the House, but killed in the Senate. This bill was worked on with the advice of Tax Commissioner C. P. Link and Governor William E. Sweet. It provided a tax of 3 per cent on entire net income from all property owned, from all business transacted, investments made, trade, profession, or occupation carried on within Colorado by any foreign or domestic corporation, joint stock company, or association of persons. Deductions were allowed for a single person to the amount of $1,000 and $2,000 for a married person, with $200 additional for each dependent.

The thirteenth annual report, recording a further loss of 2 per cent, returned to the problem of the tax system:

> The ever-growing burden of taxation must be deemed to be the principal cause of the discontent and agitation which gives rise to such efforts and movements as indicated (to reduce land values 25% and 50%, to abolish the Tax Commission). And as under our system of personal property taxation this burden falls heaviest on real property, it is perhaps not to be wondered at that owners of farm lands are seeking a remedy. But the remedy does not lie in assessed valuations, and even if it did, it has not been shown that farm lands are assessed any higher than they ought to be in comparison with other classes of property. . . . . It is local and not state expenditure that is responsible for most of our taxes,[14] and the remedy lies with the people themselves. . . . . This matter of local responsibility must be understood before there can be any alleviation of the present burden. Either that or a change in our system which would put on the tax rolls much property which cannot be reached by our present system. Lower taxes will never be brought about by lowering valuations, or by abolishing the tax commission.

The fourteenth annual report in 1925, the last available, renewed the recommendations of the seventh annual report. It reported a .17 per cent increase in state valuations.

In the 1927 Assembly a bill for a tax on intangibles failed to pass the House. Thus is progress made in revising Colorado's tax system!

What progress has been made in state income taxation? Since 1911, thirteen states have introduced personal income taxes. These states are Arkansas, Delaware, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, New York, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, Virginia, and Wisconsin which in 1911 made the

[14] Again see Table 1, on page 234.

first serious attempt to grapple with the evils of the general property tax. Several of these have also levied taxes on corporate incomes, either as a part of a general income tax, or under separate laws. In the former group are Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oregon, South Carolina, Virginia, and Wisconsin. In the latter are Massachusetts and New York.[15] Income taxes were enacted in New Mexico and Alabama, but the former was held unconstitutional and the latter was soon repealed.

To consider the outstanding examples: Wisconsin has very largely supplanted the personal property tax; Massachusetts has reached intangible personalty and professional incomes; New York's reform is the most significant, and may be summed up as the complete abolition of the general property tax and the substitution of a general income tax, assessed by the state, but with careful provisions for the maintenance of local revenues, the putting of all corporations (public utilities as well as general business corporations) on the income basis, and the substantial restriction of the real estate tax to local purposes.

The Wisconsin income tax is not over and above the general property tax, but is a substitute in part for the unworkable tax on personal property. Seventy per cent of the tax goes to the locality where collected, twenty per cent to the county, and only ten per cent to the state, the last the expected cost of administering the tax. The tax, applying to residents and to business transacted or income derived from property in the state, is a graduated one rising from 1 per cent on the first $1,000 (above the $800 exemption for individual, $1,200 for husband and wife, $200 for each child) to 6 per cent on the thirteenth $1,000 and all above.

The Wisconsin corporation tax is on net income, and there are no exemptions or deductions. Starting at 2 per cent on the first $1,000, the rate rises to 6 per cent on $6,000 and over. Collection is made at the source, and the individual stockholder is not taxed on his dividend.

The New York income tax, adopted in 1919, marks an important stage in the fiscal history of the United States.[16] Having tried the system of separation of sources for almost a decade (collateral and

[15] *Public Finance*, Lutz.

[16] *Political Science Quarterly*, New York, Dec. 1919. Vol. 34, pages 521–545.

then direct inheritance taxes, an organization tax on corporations, a racing tax, were used for state purposes in the 80's), the state introduced a new principle, the division of yield between state and locality with the introduction of the liquor license law of 1896. In 1901 a tax at a special rate on banks and similar institutions was imposed. In 1905 the stock transfer tax added to state revenues. In 1906 a mortgage recording tax was added. The proceeds from these so-called indirect taxes increased rapidly. In 1907 it became possible substantially to dispense with the direct tax for state purposes. But about 1910 expenditures of the state and localities increased by leaps and bounds. Care of hospitals, administrative supervision of industries and transportation, construction of roads, enlargement of the Erie Canal, took up the slack of the new taxes. In 1912 the state direct tax was reimposed. Thus separation of sources was seen not to be a final solution of the tax problem. Underassessment of real estate and of personal property continued. The classified property tax, for various reasons, was not considered desirable. The income tax was the solution.

In 1914 Connecticut had adopted a state corporation income tax, utilizing a duplicate return as made to the federal government. In 1917 New York adopted what was in fact a corporation income tax, public utilities and banks being excepted as still subject to the old system of capital and gross receipts taxes. In 1919, New York discarded the general property tax, and substituted the income tax on both individuals and corporations.

The New York law reduces to a minimum the difficulties of the administrator and the annoyance of the tax payer, returns for the federal tax being utilized with insignificant changes for the state tax. The exemptions are $1,000 for single persons, $2,000 for married, with $200 for each dependent. The law includes, however, income from all sources, irrespective of whether some of the sources, like corporations and real estate, are reached in other ways. The theory upon which this is based is that a tax on corporations is a business tax and is impersonal, and that such a tax is to be sharply distinguished from the individual income tax which is a personal tax.

The state tax in New York is not steeply graduated, being 1 per cent on the first $10,000, 2 per cent from $10,000 to $50,000, and 3 per cent above $50,000. It would be an impossible burden to super-

impose upon the federal graduated tax a similar state tax nor does the state need the revenue such a graduated tax would yield. If in the future the federal scale is lowered, and the state and localities need greatly increased revenue, it will be possible to raise the scale of the state tax.

The New York tax is centrally administered by the state comptroller. Politics prevented administration by the state tax commission which controls the corporation tax. The principle of division of yield is carried out as follows: after retention of a small fund from which to pay refunds and abatements, one-half of the proceeds is apportioned to each locality in the ratio of the real estate assessments. This provision, meeting the revenue needs of both state and localities, also makes for higher and more equitable assessments in the localities. Thus under the income tax the higher the assessment in the locality, the greater its share of the tax. Under the general property tax the reverse was true, the higher the assessed valuation, the greater the burden on the locality.

The problem of taxation of non-residents is solved by giving them an allowance for a tax which is levied by the state of residence providing such state grant similar credit to residents of New York.

The New York tax has been most successful in equalizing the tax burden and in producing revenue. A Colorado committee on taxation and retrenchment would find its study indispensable.[17]

* * *

In view of the most successful federal income taxes, why should Colorado not adopt a state income tax, limiting the property tax to a tax on real estate, chiefly for local purposes? Why should Colorado not impose a tax on business through a corporation income tax? And why should Colorado not tax all personal property, tangible as well as intangible, through the income tax?

Whatever form of personal and corporation income taxes Colorado may adopt, a real estate tax will have to be retained as the

[17] A comprehensive treatment of all state income tax laws, with criticisms of their defects, is to be found in "State Taxation of Personal Incomes," Dr. Alzada Comstock, 1921. Vol. CI, No. 1 of *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, Columbia University, New York. In this also is found a copy of the personal income tax act preferred for the National Tax Association by a committee appointed to prepare a plan for a model system of state and local taxation, January 1921. The act provides one per cent tax on the first $1,000, two on the second, etc., with five per cent on incomes in excess of $5,000. Intangible property is exempted from the general property tax and exemptions are $1,000 and $2,000.

important source of local, school, and county revenues. New York's plan of dividing the tax between the state and localities on the basis of real estate valuations commends itself. Local, county, and school expenditures, it may be noted again, made up nearly forty of the forty-five million dollar total general property tax in 1925. While the State needs additional revenue, the towns, schools, and counties need it more. The principle of division of yield will prove as acceptable in Colorado as it has in New York.

Under any income taxes adopted, Colorado should exempt entirely intangible personalty, for the income tax reaches the income from intangibles. Tangible personalty also should be exempted. That part of tangible personalty, which includes productive capital such as stock in trade, machinery for manufacturing, livestock and implements, is taxed under an income tax. Other tangible property, such as household furniture and jewelry (automobiles are taxed separately in almost all states), provide great administrative difficulties in taxation, and can be better reached for the luxurious individual through a progressive income tax. It is highly questionable whether it is desirable to impose a tax on consumption, save in war time, on the average consumer.

In the Colorado personal income tax law the principle of differentiation between earned and unearned income should be observed in the lower stages. Progressive scales will take care of the difference between income from labor and income from possessions in the higher income classes. This detail should be worked out by the special committee on taxation and retrenchment.

The income tax, by all means, should be centrally administered by the state tax commission. Perhaps the chief reason that experiments with state income taxes up to 1911 were utterly insignificant was the lack of central administration. Wisconsin's tax, the first successful state income tax, is administered by the state tax commission. New York's tax is centrally administered.

All corporations, including public utilities and financial companies, ought to be under the corporation income tax. This would obviate any criticism of the fairness of valuations of the state tax commission, and would make corporations making more money than others with a like amount of property, pay their relative share of taxes. Instead of summation of criticisms of the general property

tax, of Colorado's tax problem, of the changes in Colorado's tax system that might be made on the basis of the experience of other states, to close this essay, another quotation from Seligman:[18]

> The general property tax as the sole or chief source of revenue has long since disappeared in every other country of the world (except the United States), the principal reason being that under modern economic conditions property no longer forms so accurate an index of wealth as does income. It is only in the case of real estate that, as a result of the paramount considerations of administrative efficiency, property or selling value is still utilized as a criterion of taxable ability. But in the rest of the modern economic field not only are there large incomes which are never capitalized, because derived from exertions rather than from possessions and spent in lieu of being accumulated, but the prosperity of the average business man is much more faithfully reflected in his income account than in his capital account. . . . . Equality of taxation, therefore, means the replacement of the general property tax by the general income tax.

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LITERARY SOURCES OF ITALIAN OPERA

By Miriam Rieder

The object of this study is to establish the literary sources of the Italian opera, and particularly of those operas of which the music is still accessible and to be heard today. Despite the great popularity of opera little interest has been shown for the unquestionably close interrelation between opera texts and literature. The most prominent composers and their works will be taken up chronologically and the literary inspiration of the operas given wherever this has been established.

Opera originated in Italy and is conceded by the best authorities to have had its birth in the efforts of a group of men known as the *camerata*, who met at the house and under the leadership of Count Giovanni Bardi in Florence at the beginning of the 17th Century. We know of earlier attempts to combine music and drama, as for instance, *The Conversion of St. Paul*, which was played with music at Rome in 1440. Indeed, the Church, from the earliest days of its history, employed a dramatic form which was an outgrowth of the pagan drama with chorus of antiquity. The first Christian priests recognized the interest lying in dramatic performances and were quick to adapt Biblical stories for representation. The musical element was provided in the form of old Latin hymns. There were many of these biblical representations in the Middle Ages but, unfortunately, in order to retain the interest of the multitude, they were allowed to deteriorate. Low comedy was introduced and the religious drama fell to the plane of farce comedy. A reform was imperative and this was provided by san Filippo Neri (b. 1515), the founder of the Congregation of the Fathers of the Oratory at Rome. It was from this reform that the oratorio, and therefore indirectly the opera, sprang. Neri's attempts were not in themselves dramatic, however. In order to attract young people to his chapel he caused hymns and psalms to be sung by one or more voices, and among these spiritual songs were some in the form of dialogues. Neri enlisted the aid of Animuccia and Palaestrina of the papal chapel in the preparation of these *laudi spirituali*, as they were called. These

Editor's Note. This contribution was kindly prepared by Mrs. Rieder, at the request of the Editor, from a much longer paper.

developed then into dialogues interspersed with choruses, the musical setting of which was of such great beauty that they became extremely popular, and St. Phillip's oratory was always crowded. It is from this oratory that the word oratorio is derived.

It is at this point that we have a branching off, which was to give us the opera. The oratorio continued to develop as an independent form but its sister, the opera, found its genesis and developed side by side with it. There were also other influences at work which contributed to its development. There were early secular, as well as sacred, representations of dramatic subjects combined with music. In the beginning there was no difference between the two except in subject matter. They consisted of dialogues interspersed with choruses, and these choruses were written, as were the other secular songs of the time, in three, four, and five part polyphony. We have also accounts of plays, given as early as 1350, which had a chorus at the end of each scene. The introduction of these pieces of music found favor and they developed into what became known as *intermezzi*. These became of more and more importance until they developed into separate short plays of lighter character than the main drama, and which were given between the acts. These *intermezzi* developed later into *opera buffa*, the modern Italian comic opera.

The first profane subject rendered operatically, of which we have any knowledge, was *Orpheus*, by Angelo Poliziano, with libretto by Cardinal Riario, a nephew of Pope Sixtus IV. This was given in 1480 in a theater maintained by the popes. It was in the form of the contemporary sacred musical plays. We have reason to think that there were embryonic operas ostentatiously produced in the 16th Century but the accounts of these early productions have not been preserved. We know of a number of madrigal plays, which we would call dramatic cantatas, which in Italy seem invariably to have become comic in character. The text of these was not different from that of an ordinary play, but there was no acting and the music was in the traditional contrapuntal style.

We now come to the group of musical enthusiasts, the *camerata*, in the early part of the 17th Century, who were responsible for the first operas worthy of the name. This group was pervaded with the spirit of the renaissance and was therefore intensely enthusiastic

about Greek literature. They wished to restore the Greek drama but found that, in order to do this, they would have to find and restore something like the Greek music used in that drama. In seeking this they found a substitute for the unsuitable polyphonic choruses of the time. The fact that in the dramatic recitation of the Greeks a single person sang or intoned his part alone with an accompaniment of lyres and flutes or similar instruments led them to construct an artistic monody, the first example of which was a setting of the Count Ugolino story from Dante's *Inferno* done by Galilei. Cavalieri in 1588–1595 brought out a number of works on classical subjects written in the new style. Giulio Caccini, in imitation of Galilei, set many sonnets to music. This style must not be confused with the solo singing which already existed throughout the middle ages as practiced by the troubadours and minstrels. The latter had never been employed in connection with theatrical representations. It was a genre apart and did not influence the development of dramatic recitative.

The first work which can conclusively be called an opera is *Dafne* (1597) by Peri and Rinuccini. In this work the dialogue was all in the new recitative and the chorus was heard only at the conclusion of each act. It was given at the Corsi palace where the *camerata* was then holding its meetings and was regarded as an experiment to try the power of the new vocal music. It was called a *favola in musica*, or *opera*, and was a great success. Unfortunately the score is not extant. A translation into German was set to music by the composer, Heinrich Schütz, and was given in Germany in 1627. This had some influence on the development of German opera, but not a preponderant amount, as the German national opera was rather an outgrowth of the *Singspiel*.

The success of *Dafne* led the composer to write another work in the same style, *Euridice* (1600), which is the earliest Italian opera extant. It was produced as a festival play in honor of the marriage of King Henry IV of France and Maria de'Medici. It also met with immediate success. Rinuccini went to France later in the suite of Maria and endeavored to introduce the new form there, but was not successful. The dramatic recitative was not in accordance with French taste at the time. French opera was an outgrowth of the ballet.

Strangely enough the members of the *camerata* did not realize that they had failed to revive the ancient Greek declamation and had evolved a new art instead.

The subject matter of these early operas was classico-mythological. *Dafne* and *Euridice* by Peri and Rinuccini, and later *Orfeo* (1607) and *Arianna* (1608) by Monteverde, and *Dafne* (1608) by Gagliardo, show not only a strict adherence to this type of subject, but betray a tendency on the part of Italian opera writers to use the same story, and even the same libretto again and again. This custom became established thus early in the development of opera, for Gagliardo made use of Rinuccini's libretto for his work.

The early classico-mythological subjects gave way to classico-historical texts, which were historical only in title. The early operas had been written by and for the intellectual aristocracy, who were imbued with the spirit of the Renaissance and who were interested only in the revival of Greek subjects. As opera became popular and more accessible to the people through the building of a large number of opera houses throughout Italy, the standards declined. No longer were strictly classical subjects used and no longer did high tragedy hold the field. The spirit of the age began to find expression; the social and moral atmosphere became 17th Century Italian and the intrigues and complications of melodrama began to enter. New personages began to find their way into the cast, particularly the low comedian. Cavalli was the ruling genius of the opera at this stage of its development and it is in his opera, *Doriclea*, that the comic element first enters. His operas belong to the pseudo-historical class and abound in anachronisms.

In the oratorio style of opera we find mythological subjects, and tales taken from Christian, Roman, Jewish, and Oriental history, especially such as had already been used by Italian poets. The same plots were used repeatedly and with but slight variations. Magical and superhuman elements were introduced, as they had been in the romances of chivalry of Pulci, Ariosto, Boiardo, and Tasso. In fact, episodes from precisely these romances became increasingly popular.

As opera departed from the tragic and purely classical subjects it became more elaborate in its settings. At the beginning of the opera there was usually a prologue by mythological personages or personified ideas which was obviously an outgrowth of the allegories

of the Middle Ages. At the end there was ordinarily an epilogue of an apologetic character. Sometimes good poets acted as librettists, such as Busonello, but in general the librettos were not considered to be of importance. They were thrown together hastily, were often bombastic and composed of anything that might serve the purpose, regardless of unity, logic or reason. Scenic effects, elaborate and showy but not dramatic, became the vogue. Complicated technique on the part of the singer was also demanded, but the text of an opera was of secondary importance.

Handel used historical and mythological subjects with borrowings from Italian authors of the Renaissance, as in *Rinaldo* (1710), the text of which was written by Rossi and which is founded on the episode of Rinaldo and the enchantress, Armida, from Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (1575). Scarlatti had a predilection for historical themes. Piccini and Gluck, on the other hand, preferred tales from classical mythology and literature, although Gluck sometimes made use of historical subjects.

The Italian poet, Metastasio, supplied the text for many of Gluck's early operas, particularly of such as represented his concessions to the taste of the time. These texts were inane conglomerations of words. The operas in which he embodied his reforms, being truly dramatic in quality, naturally had to have coherent and dramatic texts. *Orfeo e Euridice* (1762) had a libretto by the poet, Calzabigi, which was not lacking in value. The libretto of *Iphigenie en Aulide* (1774) is an adaptation by Du Rollet of Racine's drama of the same name (1674), which in turn found its inspiration in the tragedy of Euripides. *Armide* (1777) has a libretto by Quinault from the same source as Handel's *Rinaldo*. Piccini's *Roland* (1778) is also founded on the same material. The librettos for *Iphigenie en Tauride* (1779), which was set to music by both Gluck and Piccini, were written by Guichard and Dubreuil respectively. They are modeled on a drama of the same name by Guimond de la Touche which appeared in 1757 and which was taken from the drama of Euripides. The story is a sequel to that of *Iphigenie en Aulide*.

In the field of opera buffa the librettos were not usually of literary interest. *Il matrimonio segreto* (1792) by Cimarosa was taken from a long forgotten French operetta, *Sophie, ou le mariage caché*, which was in its turn founded on Garrick and Coleman's *Clandestine*

Marriage (1766). Cimarosa also has one important opera seria, *Gli Orazi e Curiazi*, which is an adaptation of Corneille's *Horace* (1640).

The libretto of Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* (1786) is derived from Beaumarchais' famous comedy of that name (1784), which constitutes the second play of his famous trilogy, the first comedy of which will later furnish Rossini with the libretto of his *Barber of Seville* (1815). The original French comedies had caused considerable political disturbances and Mozart's librettist, Lorenzo da Ponte, wisely left all political references out of his version.

Don Giovanni (1787) has also a libretto of strong literary interest, composed likewise by Da Ponte, who did not hesitate to borrow from an opera by Gazzaniga which came out in the same year and which was called *Il convitato di pietra*. The prototype of the opera is the Don Juan of Molière's *Festin de Pierre* (1665), which in turn is borrowed from Tirso de Molina's *Burlador de Sevilla* (1630), which goes for its inspiration back to Cueva's *La Comedia del Infamador* (1583), the hero of which, Leucino, is the original Don Juan. The subject was popular—it had been used by the Italian, Goldoni, for a play, and by the Englishman, Thomas Shadwell, whose *Libertine Destroyed* had been given in 1676. Le Tellier had used it for a French comic opera, Righini and Gazzaniga employed it for Italian operas, and Gluck for a ballet.

Rossini's first important opera was *Tancred* (1813). The libretto was by Rossi. The name would lead one to believe that the opera was founded on material taken from Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, but such is not the case. None of the characters of the opera, except Tancred himself, figure in Tasso's poem at all and the action is purely fanciful. *Elizabetta* (1815) is not one of Rossini's famous operas but it is interesting from a literary point of view since its story bears a close resemblance to Scott's *Kenilworth*, although the latter is not definitely established as a source.

Il barbiere di Seviglia, one of Rossini's greatest operas, is founded on the first comedy of Beaumarchais' trilogy, as mentioned above. Paisiello had produced in 1782 an opera using the same material and he now used his influence to make his young rival's work a failure, although he had granted permission for the subject to be used. The opera of Rossini eventually triumphed over intrigue and attained the high popularity which it still retains.

Rossini's next opera, *Otello* (1816), found its inspiration in Shakespeare's *Othello*. *Cenerentola* (1817) is the old fairy story of Cinderella in a modern setting. The fairy atmosphere of Perrault's version is lost. The fairy godmother's place is taken by the prince's preceptor who is disguised as a beggar, and the glass slipper is metamorphosed into a bracelet. Cinderella herself is a coloratura singer bedecked with laces and jewels. She is abused by her sisters, it is true, but she nevertheless holds her own. There is an interesting complication in the action which clearly springs from *Le jeu de l'amour et du hasard* (1730) by Marivaux. The prince does not come to the ladies' house in his own clothes, but disguised in simple garb, while his valet plays his part. The libretto is by Ferretti.

La gazza ladra (1817) has a libretto by Gherardi and is founded on a French melodrama, *La pie voleuse* (1815), by Caigniez and D'Aubigny. *Armida* (1817) is an adaptation of the material of Gluck's opera of the same name, treated above. *Mosè in Egitto* (1818), which was later rewritten and called *Moïse*, is in reality an oratorio founded on the biblical story of Joseph, but it is sometimes given as an opera. This subject was popular with opera composers. We have a *Giuseppe* by Caldara appearing in 1722, and Metastasio's *Giuseppe riconosciuto* was set to music by several composers between 1733 and 1788. Mehul's *Joseph* (1807) is perhaps the most popular setting of the story.

La donna del lago (1819) is founded on Sir Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, with libretto by Tottola. *Semiramide* (1823) has a libretto by Rossi which is founded on a tragedy by Voltaire, *Sémiramis* (1748). The subject had been treated in French literature before Voltaire by Crébillon. The story is a Babylonian version of the tale of the murder of Agamemnon by his wife. Rossi takes marked liberties with his literary original.

Rossini's last opera, *William Tell* (1829), follows fairly faithfully the drama of that name by Schiller. The libretto is the work of Jouy, Bis, and Marast.

The first of Donizetti's operas to be of interest to us is *Torquato Tasso* (1833). It deals with the life of the unhappy Italian poet whose *Jerusalem Delivered* was the inspiration of so many of the earlier operas. *Lucrezia Borgia* (1834) has a text by Romano founded on the tragedy of the same name by Victor Hugo. The latter tried,

when the opera was given in Paris in 1840, to prevent further performances on the ground that his work had been plundered. The libretto was thereupon altered and rewritten and the name of the opera changed to *La renegata.* The Italian characters, who were chiefly nobles at the papal court of Alexander VI, were changed to Turks, and the performances were resumed. Later Victor Hugo became mollified by the payment of satisfactory royalties and the original libretto was restored. The text follows the original drama closely, and deals with the famous character in Italian history whose name furnishes the title, or rather with the adventures attributed to her by Hugo. In reality, Lucrezia Borgia was a pious, prudent, and highly educated woman as well as a celebrated patroness of the arts and of learning in general.[1]

Lucia di Lammermoor (1835) has a libretto by Cammerano and the subject is taken from Sir Walter Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor.* The text does not follow the original story closely. *Il poliuto* (1832) has an Italian text by Nourrit and Cammerano, but the performance of this opera was forbidden by the police in Italy and it was adapted for the French stage by Scribe. The first performance was in Paris in 1840. The material for the text was taken from *Polyeucte* by Corneille. The French version was called *Les martyrs* and the opera appeared in London later as *I martiri.*

La favorita (1840) is founded on *Le Comte de Commingues,* a French play by Baculard d'Arnaud. The original title of this play was *Le Comte de Comminge,* ou *Les amants malheureux,* and it was taken from *Les mémoires du Comte de Commingues* by Mme. de Tencin. The libretto of the opera is by Royer and Waetz. *Linda di Chamouni* (1842) has words by Rossi founded on a French melodrama, *La Grâce de Dieu* by d'Ennery and Lemoine.

Of Bellini's early operas up to 1831 none are given today, and only one interests us on account of its source. This is *I Capuletti ed i Montecchi* (1830), which is an operatic version of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet.* The libretto, by Romani, had already served Bellini's master, Zingarelli, for his opera, *Romeo e Giulietta* (1796). Two other Italian composers who used the same subject for operas were Nicolo Vaccai (1790–1848) and Filippo Marchetti (1835–1902).

Bellini's first opera of importance, *La Sonnambula* (1831), is

[1] Buel, James: *The Great Operas,* Paris and London, 1899, Vol. 5, page 425.

adapted from a vaudeville-ballet by Scribe. *Norma* (1831) has a libretto by Romani based on a tragedy of the same name by Soumet. *I puritani di Scozia* (1835) has a weak libretto written by Count Pepoli. The subject is taken from a French play, *Cavaliers et Têtes Rondes*, by Jacques Ancelot (1794–1854), which play borrowed its material from Scott's novel, *Old Mortality*.

The first of Verdi's operas to be of interest to us is *Nabucodonosor*, the name of which is usually shortened to *Nabucco* (1842). The story is taken from the Bible and the libretto is by Solera.

The earliest of Verdi's operas which has endured is *Ernani* (1844), a tragic opera in four acts with libretto by Piave. The subject matter followed the tragedy of Victor Hugo, *Hernani* (1830), very closely at first, but Hugo protested loudly over what he regarded as the stealing of his work, just as he had protested over Donizetti's exploitation of his *Lucrèce Borgia* some years before. Just as Donizetti had had to revise his work entirely, so now Verdi had to rewrite his *Ernani*. The words were altered, much of the music was changed to correspond to the new libretto, the characters were changed to Italians, and a new title, *Il proscritto*, was given to the opera. It is interesting to note that Hugo's complete legal success in this matter led to the paying of royalties by all Italian composers to the French authors whose works they used.

Aside from the difficulties with Victor Hugo, Verdi had the police to contend with, who emphatically refused to allow the portrayal of a conspiracy on the stage. This was consequently omitted in the revised version of the opera. Other sources of trouble were the people themselves, who objected to the innovations introduced by Verdi in this opera. The outstanding objector was a Count Mocenigo who held forth violently against the blowing of Don Silva's horn in the last act as being "disgraceful"! Then the chorus, *Si ridesti il Leon di Castiglia*, provoked a political manifestation on the part of the Venetians. Eventually matters quieted down and the opera became very popular. The subject matter lends itself admirably to operatic purposes, the Spanish "pundonor" motif being used very dramatically. It is in this opera that Verdi broke away very definitely from the purely melodic and technically showy operas of his predecessors and introduced the dramatic element, clearly and definitely. This was resented bitterly by the conservatives, as all innovations are

resented, but Verdi held his own, and we have at this point the beginning of modern dramatic grand opera.

The operas that Verdi wrote after the production of *Ernani* were for a time of indifferent quality. A number of them are interesting to us, however, on account of their literary sources. *Giovanna d'Arca* (1845), was taken from Schiller's tragedy, *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* (1801). *Macbeth* (1847) was an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. *I Masnadieri* (1847) was adapted by Maffei from *Die Räuber* by Schiller and *Louisa Miller* (1849) had a text by Cammarano taken from *Kabale und Liebe*, which is also by Schiller.

Rigoletto (1851) is regarded by many as Verdi's best opera. It is a tragedy in three acts, the subject matter of which was taken from Victor Hugo's *Le roi s'amuse* (1832). It followed very faithfully the original drama, which is best known to English readers and playgoers in Tom Taylor's adaptation, *The Fool's Revenge* (1859). The operatic libretto was by Piave and the title given to the work was *La maledizione*, in order to disguise the origin of the plot. In spite of all attempts to avoid trouble the police forbade the presentation of the opera as soon as the first performance was announced, on the grounds that it would not be wise to permit the representation of a king on the stage in the situation attributed to Francis I in the original tragedy, particularly after the political events of 1848. Verdi and the theatrical manager tried in vain to have these objections on the part of the civil authorities removed and matters looked hopeless, when the Minister of Police, who was himself a great lover of music, suggested a way out of the difficulty. The king of the libretto was to be changed to a duke of Mantua and the name of the opera to *Rigoletto*, which was the name of the king's buffoon, who was called Triboulet in the original drama. Verdi accepted the alterations, although they necessitated considerable labor on his part, and had the revised opera ready in forty days. The material has the defects of the original, which are: lack of probability, too glaring contrasts, and unnatural contradictions, all of which are faults in the Romantic conceptions of Victor Hugo. Just as in *Notre Dame de Paris* and in *L'homme qui rit* Hugo has created in *Le roi s'amuse* a character which is physically and morally revolting in itself but which is rendered sympathetic by its tender and melancholy love for some beautiful and touching, though unfortunate, creature.

Il trovatore (1853) has a libretto by Cammarano which is derived from the romantic *El trovador* by the Spanish writer Antonio Garcia Gutierrez (1812–1884). This play is a romantic melodrama and the opera retains the same qualities. *La Traviata* (1853) is founded on Alexandre Dumas' *La dame aux camélias* (1852), known to English play-goers under the incorrect title, *Camille.* The libretto by Piave followed Dumas' text closely and also retained its modern setting in the first version of the opera. This displeased the audience, which was accustomed to costume and period settings in their operas, and the first performance was a failure. A year later it was repeated with marked changes in the libretto. The scene was changed from the modern Paris depicted by Dumas to Paris during the reign of Louis XIV. The names of some of the characters were altered and there were some changes in the action. This time the opera had a tremendous success and it has remained popular.

Verdi's next opera was *I vespri siciliani* (1855). The music was written to a French text by Scribe which had been rearranged by du Locle. The massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572) is the background of the story. The title would seem to refer to the massacre of the French by the Sicilians in 1282, in which the vesper bell was the signal for a general uprising of the population against the French usurpers, but such is not the case. The term "Sicilian Vespers" came to mean any general massacre and is here used to designate that of St. Bartholomew. The opera book is not taken from *Les Vêpres Siciliennes* (1819) by the French author, Casimir Delavigne, which tragedy deals with the original massacre.

Simon Boccanegra (1857) was taken from a Spanish play of the same title by the Romantic author, Garcia Gutierrez, who wrote the drama which furnished the inspiration for *Il trovatore.*

Il ballo in maschera (1858) had a libretto by Somma which was made from a libretto which Scribe had written for Rossini. The latter had not used it and Scribe offered it to Auber, who utilized it for his *Gustav III, ou le bal masqué.* Verdi's opera also was called at first *Gustav III.* The libretto is written around the assassination of Gustav III of Sweden who was shot in the back at a masked ball in Stockholm on March 16, 1792. Just before the expected production of the opera, Felice Orsini, an Italian revolutionary, made his famous attempt to kill Napoleon III. The authorities refused to

allow Verdi's opera to be given because it contained a conspiracy scene and dealt with the assassination of a king. Verdi was commanded to set different words to the music quickly, but refused. The manager brought suit against him for extensive damages. The people of Naples were keenly disappointed and a revolution almost broke out. Crowds gathered in the streets shouting "Viva Verdi," and made a banner out of the initials of his name (viz. Vittorio Emmanuele RE D'Italia) to further Italia Irredenta sentiment. For a time the opera was laid aside, despite the demonstrations in its favor. Then a solution was suggested by the impresario at Rome. The title of the opera was to be changed to *Un ballo in maschera* and the scene was changed from Sweden to Boston, Massachusetts. Two conspirators were changed to negroes and a dangerous astrologer to a negress. Later the original setting was restored by Mario in Paris.

Verdi's next opera was *La forza del destino* (1862). The book is by Piave, who took it from a Spanish play, *Don Alvaro, o la fuerza del sino* (1835) by the Duke of Rivas. This play occupied in the Spanish theater a place similar to that taken in the French theater by Victor Hugo's *Hernani.* It introduced the Romantic movement in all its force and was the occasion of a tremendous demonstration when first given.

Don Carlos (1867) represents another attempt on the part of Verdi to utilize a drama of Schiller for an operatic subject. The libretto, which is the result of collaboration on the part of Méry and du Locle, follows Schiller's *Don Carlos* (1787) faithfully, in fact some scenes are taken almost word for word from the original. The ending is changed somewhat, in that Schiller's drama ends with the order of the king to the cardinal enjoining him to do his work, which in this case is the execution of the king's son, Don Carlos, who has been his royal father's rival in love. In the opera we find, subsequent to the king's speech, the appearance of the ghost of Charles V, who wraps the infante in his mantle and disappears with him.

The critics thought that *Don Carlos* was the work of an old man whose creative career was ended but Verdi surprised them with a new and very original and strong work, *Aïda* (1871). This opera was written upon a commission of the Khedive of Egypt for the inauguration of the latter's new Italian theater in Cairo. The subject

matter, which was required to be native Egyptian, was taken from a sketch written by the director of the museum at Boulak, Mariette Bey, a man well versed in Egyptology. In constructing a story for a text for Verdi's opera he made use of an old manuscript which he had discovered during his researches. The original libretto was in French. Later Antonio Ghislandoni translated it into Italian verse and it is his name which appears as that of the librettist on the title sheet of the opera. As a background Mariette Bey revived Egyptian life of the time of the Pharaohs. He rebuilt ancient Thebes, Memphis, and the Temple of Phtah, and designed costumes and arranged scenery with all the historical accuracy possible. Verdi tried also in his music to acquire as much local color as he could and we find in this work a total departure from the conventional Italian forms. We also find a marked tendency towards modernism.

Otello (1887) had a libretto by Arrigo Boito founded on Shakespeare's *Othello*. *Falstaff* (1893) is founded on Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor* with borrowings from *Henry IV*. A conspicuous example of the latter is the well-known monologue on honor. The libretto is by Boito and shows well his skill in adaptation and condensation. Many characters of the original comedy are eliminated, namely, Shallow, Slender, William, Page, Sir Hugh Evans, Simple and Rugby. Falstaff himself appears as the comic figure that Shakespeare made him, although he is known to have been a historical figure of some dignity and renown. He was a soldier who served in France and later became governor of Honfleur. He took an important part in the battle of Agincourt and was also in all the engagements before the walls of Orleans where the English were obliged to retreat before Jeanne d'Arc. His name was Sir John Falstaff and he died at the age of eighty-two in his native county of Norfolk after having spent an honored old age in looking after the interests of the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, to the foundation of which he had contributed. He is made into a highly comical old wine-bibber by Shakespeare, however, and the tale of his illicit amours forms the nucleus of the original comedy and, consequently, of the operas taken from it. These have been many, but the most notable, after Verdi's is *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1849) by Otto Nicolai (1810–1849).

Arrigo Boito (1842–1918) was a skillful writer of librettos as well

as a composer. He has one outstanding opera, *Mefistofele*, for which he wrote the libretto himself. In this work he made use of his profound knowledge of the Faust legend in its different treatments. He goes deeply into Goethe's *Faust* for inspiration and his is not a superficial treatment of one episode from that monumental work, as is Gounod's *Faust* (1859). However, Gounod showed a better appreciation of the limitations of an opera, for his work is succinct, condensed, and unified, whereas Boito, in attempting to do too much for the scope of one opera, caused his work to lack these qualities. Boito tried to base his opera on both books of Goethe's *Faust*, and attempted to imbue his work with the philosophical substratum of that entire poem. Although he was a poet of no mean ability, he had attempted in this a task beyond his power, and so the opera, which is very beautiful and one of the most profound works ever written for the lyric stage, is seldom heard. It is not well connected and consistently developed, but rather a series of episodes which hold together and have significance only for those who are already familiar with the original poem in its entirety. This work Boito deals with reverently, his deep understanding of it being doubtless a result of his own studies in Germany. The notes which he appended to the score show clearly his knowledge of the subject. Aside from Goethe's poem he made use of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (1592), and of excerpts from Blaze de Bury, Lenau, and Widman, as well as from others who have treated the legend.

Filippo Marchetti, a follower of Verdi, wrote only two operas of importance, *Giulietta e Romeo*, which was founded on Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Ruy Blas*, which was derived from Victor Hugo's romantic drama of the same name. Another close disciple of Verdi was Errico Petrella, whose *Ione* (1858) was derived from *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834) by Edward Bulwer-Lytton with libretto by Peruzzini. He also wrote an *I promessi sposi* (1869) the subject matter of which is taken from Manzoni's famous novel of the same name. The libretto is by Ghizlandoni.

Amilcare Ponchielli also wrote an *I promessi sposi* which was derived from the same source as the above. His most famous opera is *La Gioconda* (1876), which is taken from Victor Hugo's gloomy play, *Angelo, Tyran de Padoue* (1835). The libretto is by Arrigo Boito who signed the book with his pseudonymn, Tobia Garrio,

which is an anagram of his name. The text of the original is not followed closely: the scene of action is changed from Padua to Venice, and the heroine is changed from a rich actress to a poor street singer. The blind mother of the latter, who is scarcely mentioned in the play, becomes a character of importance in the opera. The gloominess and unhealthy tone of the original are retained. Ponchielli has one other opera of interest, *Marion Delorme* (1885) which found its inspiration in Victor Hugo's drama of the same name.

Giacomo Puccini's first opera of interest, *Le Villi* (1884) is founded on a legend from European folklore. *Manon Lescaut* (1893) has a libretto written by the composer himself, assisted by a committee of friends. The material is taken from the novel of the same name by the Abbé Prévost (1731). The same subject had been used before, by Halévy, by Balfe, by Auber, and by Massenet in his *Manon* (1884). The last named was the most successful and has remained so to the present day. Puccini follows the original story more closely than Massenet, with the result that his opera is not a coherent drama so much as a succession of single scenes, which are more or less detached, and which would be very nearly incomprehensible without a previous knowledge of the story. Indeed, Puccini did not call his work an opera but a lyric drama.

Puccini's *La Bohême* (1896) was also founded on a novel, *La Vie de Bohême* (1848) by Henri Murger, and, like *Manon Lescaut*, it is a series of genre pictures rather than a connected drama. The libretto is by Giacosa and Illica and is purely episodic in character. *La Tosca* (1900) has an exceptionally strong libretto by Giacosa and Illica taken from the gruesome play of the same name by Sardou. *Madame Butterfly* (1904) has a libretto by the same two men as the preceding operas. It is founded on a play of the same name by Belasco. The latter, finding himself in need of a new play to save a somewhat disastrous season, hastily constructed a *Madame Butterfly*, the plot of which he borrowed from the book by John Luther Long. Long had gotten his inspiration for the book from *Mme. Chrysanthème* (1887), a novel by Pierre Loti. Loti once made the statement that his story was the page out of a real diary, and the inference would be that it was his own for he had a temporary native wife during his stay in Japan. Belasco's play from this source was a great success.

Puccini saw it in London and set the story to music with consummate skill. He followed the Belasco and Long version fairly faithfully, but made much of the wedding, which these two omitted entirely. The end of the opera and of the play is very different from that of Loti's novel, the novel being more true to life, Loti leaves his Japanese wife clinking the dollars which he has given her, whereas Long introduces a tragic end to give his story a "soul," as he called it.[2]

The Girl of the Golden West (1910) was also taken from a play by Belasco which has the same title. *Gianni Schicchi, Suora Angelica,* and *Il tabarro,* are three one-act plays which had their première in New York in 1918. The libretto of *Gianni Schicchi* is by Forzano and the material is taken from a mediaeval story which is mentioned in Dante's Divine Comedy, Canto XXX, *Inferno.* The libretto of the second opera is by the same librettist but the literary source has not been established. The third, *Il tabarro,* or *The Cloak,* has a libretto by Giuseppe Adami based on *La houplande* by Didier Gold.

Pietro Mascagni's most famous opera, *Cavalleria rusticana* (1890), has a libretto by Targioni-Tozzetti Menasci after the play of the same name by Giovanni Verga. This play (1884) is a dramatization, by the author, of his short story of the same name which appeared in his collection of short stories called *Vita dei campi* (1880). Later this volume was republished with *Cavalleria rusticana* as the title. The dramatization of the story is a one-act play with nine scenes. Various alterations were made from the original; the leading feminine character, Santa, became Santuzza and various minor characters were introduced to add local color and to provide a slight comic relief. There is not the slightest vestige of the latter in the opera, however. In the opera a few lyrics are inserted and the name of Turiddu's mother is changed from Nunzia to Lucia, doubtless because the latter name is easier to sing.

Mascagni's *Iris* (1898) has a text by Illica who went to Sâr Pelladan and d'Annunzio for his inspiration. *L'Amico Fritz* (1891) has a text by Suardon from the novel of the same name by Erckmann-Chatrian. *I Rantzau* (1892) was taken from a novel by the same authors called *Les deux frères,* which they themselves turned into a play called *Les Rantzau. Guglielmo Ratcliff* (1895) was founded on

[2] Krehbiel, Henry E.: *A Second Book of Operas,* New York, 1920, page 186.

the gloomy Scotch story told by Heine. *Zanetto* (1896) is an operatic sketch in one act taken from the graceful idyl, *Le Passant*, by Coppée. *Vistilia*, a lyric drama, has a libretto based on a historical novel by de Zerbi. *Isabeau* (1911) has a libretto by Illica based on the story of Lady Godiva. *Lodoletta* (1917) has a text by Forzano modeled on Ouida's novel, *Two Little Wooden Shoes*.

Ruggiero Leoncavallo owes his success and fame to one short opera, *Pagliacci* (1892). He was accused by Catulle Mendez of having plagiarized in this work the latter's *La femme de Tabarin*, which has incidental music by Chabrier. Mendez tried to institute proceedings to prevent the performance of the opera, although he himself had been accused of plagiarizing Paul Ferrier's *Tabarin* in his own work. Leoncavallo, in a letter to his publishers, stated that when he was a child a jealous player had killed his wife after a performance at Montalta, and that the event had been particularly strongly impressed upon his mind because his father had been the judge at the player's trial. Mendez accepted this explanation and withdrew his suit. The idea of a play within a play which we find in *Pagliacci* is old. We find it in *Hamlet* and also in the play *Yorick's Love*, which was adapted by William Dean Howells from *Drama Nuevo* by Manuel Tamayo y Baus. The same device is also used in *Paillasse* by Dennery, which is known on the English stage as *Belphegor, the Mountebank*. The play used on the stage of the mimic theater of *Pagliacci* is one of the Harlequin comedies of the Italian commedia dell'arte. The last line of the opera text, "La commedia e finita," is Dante's and it is said to have been almost the last speech of Beethoven. The idea of having a prologue was an old theatrical custom dating back to the Greek drama. Leoncavallo wrote the libretto of this opera himself. The title is *Pagliacci*, not *I pagliacci*, as it is often printed. It is the plural of Pagliaccio, which is the Italian name for a comic type of actor known to the French as Paillasse, on account of the suit of bed-ticking which followed the early suit of white with large buttons which distinguished this character. The word that meant straw was extended to the mattress containing it and then to the buffoon who wore the cloth of which the mattress was made. The pagliaccio is a lower order of clown than the pulcinello.

Leoncavallo's one other opera of importance, *Zaza* (1900), also

has a libretto by the composer himself which he adapted from a play by Simon and Berton. His remaining operas are not well known but are of some slight interest from a literary standpoint. *Tommaso Chatterton* (1896) is derived from *Chatterton*, a play by Alfred de Vigny. *La Bohême* and *La Tosca* are from the same sources as Puccini's famous operas of the same names. *Trilby* was from the popular novel of the same name by Du Maurier. *Der Roland von Berlin* (1904) had a libretto which had been suggested by the Emperor of Germany. It was written by the composer and was adapted from a German novel of the same name by Willibald Alexis (Wilhelm Haring). The theme of the opera is the glorification of the Hohenzollerns.

Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari brought out an operatic version of Cinderella, *Cenerentola*, in 1900. His next opera, *Le donne curiose* (1903), has a libretto by Count Luigi Sugana after the comedy of the same name by Carlo Goldoni. *Il segreto di Susanna* (1910) was taken from a French farce which was turned into German by Max Kalpeck. The Italian translation of the libretto was by Golisciani. *I gioelli della Madonna* (1911) has a plot which the composer constructed himself. The versification is by Zangarini and Golisciani. *L'Amore medico* (1913) has a text by Golisciani after Molière's *Amour médecin.*

Luigi Mancinelli's *Ero e Leandro* (1899) has a libretto which Boito wrote for himself but abandoned when he became engrossed in his *Mefistofele.* He first gave the book to Bottesini, who composed it unsuccessfully, whereupon it was turned over to Mancinelli. The story is taken from classical mythology. Two odes of Anacreon were borrowed and inserted bodily in the text, where they fit remarkably well into the dramatic scheme.

Giuseppe Gallignami is not one of the great composers, but he has two operas which are interesting from a literary viewpoint. They are: *Cricket on the Hearth*, which is taken from the novel of the same name by Charles Dickens, and *Atala*, which is taken from the novel of that name by Chateaubriand.

One opera of Alfredo Catalani merits mention, *La Wally* (1892). The book is by Illica from a German play by the Baroness von Hillern which is called *Die Geierwally* and which is a dramatization by the authoress of her novel of the same name, published in 1875.

Umberto Giordano's *Mala vita* has a libretto by Daspuro which

is based on a play of the same name. *Andrea Chénier* (1896) deals with the last years and the death of the famous French poet of that name. The opera is full of French revolutionary airs. The libretto is by Illica. *Fédora* (1897) is founded on the well known play of that name by Victorian Sardou. *Siberia* (1903) is thought by many to have been inspired by Tolstoi's *Resurrection* but the latter work has not been definitely established as a source. *Mme. Sans-Gêne* (1915) has a libretto by Renato Simoni derived from a play of the same name by Sardou and Moreau, which in its turn is founded on, or rather developed out of a little one-act play dealing with a story about Napoleon, his marshal Lefebvre, and a laundress, which is partly historical and partly mythical. This opera, like *Andrêa Chénier*, contains many revolutionary airs.

Francesco Cilea has one opera of note, *Adriana Lecouvreur* (1902), which is founded on the drama of that name by Scribe and Legouvé (1849). The libretto by Colautti follows the play closely, and has as its heroine the famous actress of the Comédie Francaise whose name the work bears.

Franco Leoni has one opera of interest, *L'Oracolo* (1905), which was adapted by the librettist, Camillo Zanoni, from the American play, *The Cat and the Cherub* (1896), by Chester Bailey Fernald.

Edoardo Mascherone has also one opera, *Lorenza* (1901), the story of which is a Calabrian version of the biblical tale of Judith and Holofernes, with the variation that the heroine falls in love with her bandit chief and allows herself to be shot to save him.

Italo Montemezzi has one notable opera, *L'Amore dei tre re* (1913). The text is by Sem Benelli, one of Italy's foremost playwrights, who modelled it after his own strong play of the same title. To do this he made some omissions and added a chorus.

Riccardo Zandonai's *Francesca da Rimini* (1914) is taken from the play of the same name by Gabriele d'Annunzio. The latter prepared the libretto himself. The main story of the play was derived from the version of the tale given by Dante in his Divine Comedy, *Inferno*, Canto V, lines 88–138. The opera was a disappointment, for the very great beauty of the play had led the public to expect something very fine. The shortcomings of the composer were obvious.

A recent opera, *Resurrection*, by Franco Alfano, is founded on Tolstoi's work of that name. It was written in Paris in the late

nineties, but found success only in 1926 when played by Mary Garden in Chicago.[3]

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[3] Bonner, Eugene: "Music and Musicians," *Outlook*, Vol. 148, page 226; Feb. 8, 1928.

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